DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 168 953 SO 011 626

TITLE Sixth National Conference on Citizenship.
INSTITUTION Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; National Education Association, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE May 51
NOTE 140p.; For related documents, see SO 011 628; Photographs throughout document may not reproduce clearly ; Proceedings from the National Conference on Citizenship of the National Education Association (6th, Washington, D.C., may 16-20, 1951)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *American Culture; *Citizen Participation; *Citizenship; *Citizenship Responsibility; Civics; Critical Thinking; Democratic Values; *Educational Needs; Educational Objectives; Elementary Secondary Education; Global Approach; Government Role; Higher Education; Leadership Qualities; Leadership Responsibility; Moral Development; Peace; Politics; Social Change; Socioeconomic Influences; *United States History; Values; War

ABSTRACT

The document presents proceedings from the sixth in a series of annual national citizenship conferences. Held in Washington, D.C. in 1951, the conference served as a forum where educational, political, business, religious, labor, civic, and communications leaders could explore functions and duties of American citizenship. The theme of the conference was "Freedom in One World: Today and Tomorrow." Specific concerns of conference speakers included reviewing the responsibilities of the United States as leader of the free world and defining the role of the United States in stemming the tide of communism. Speakers stressed the need for American citizens to pursue active political cooperation, study of political matters, conscientious leadership, and respect for other people. Topics discussed include education of the foreign-born for citizenship, naturalization proceedings and problems, world freedom, citizenship in time of crisis, attitudes of youth toward citizenship, the role of the media in a changing world, and citizens' responsibility for freedom at home and abroad. Speakers included President Harry Truman, the attorney general of the United States (J. Howard McGrath), representatives of the National Education Association, United States senators from Oregon (Wayne Morse) and Tennessee (Estes Kefauver), members of the clergy, educators, media representatives, and young people representing the Boy Scouts of America, 4-H clubs, the National YMCA, the American Legion, and the United World Federalists. (DB)

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SIXTH
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

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Under Auspices
of the
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
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WASHINGTON, D. C.
May 16-20, 1951

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Upper: *The Honorable Harry S. Truman, President of the United States, is greeted by Attorney General J. Howard McGrath and Miss Corma Mowrey, president of the National Education Association.* Lower*: *President Truman addresses the Conference.*

Published by
THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Single copies, 50 cents. Regular NEA discounts.

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SINCE the inception of the Citizenship Conference in 1946, over 1,000 organizations and agencies have participated. These reach nearly every wholesome activity of American life and their membership embraces almost the entire 150,000,000 population of our country.

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THEME OF THE CONFERENCE

Freedom in One World: Today and Tomorrow

OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

To re-examine the functions and duties of American citizenship in today's world.

To assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective.

To indicate the ways and means by which various organizations may contribute concretely to the development of a more active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry in our country.

UNCEASING STUDY

INTELLIGENT PARTICIPATION

CONSCIENTIOUS LEADERSHIP

ENLIGHTENED COMPROMISE

MUTUAL RI

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CHARL ORMOND WILLIAMS, first woman vice chairman of a major political party
GEORGE T. WASHINGTON, circuit judge, United States Circuit Court of Appeals

OPENING GENERAL SESSION

Thursday Morning, May 17, 1951

Chairman of Conference Committee Opens the Sixth Conference

The opening general session of the sixth National Conference on Citizenship, held under the auspices of the National Education Association and the United States Department of Justice, convened at 10:15 o'clock, in the Presidential Room, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., Miss Corma Mowrey, president, National Education Association, presiding.

MR. EVAN E. EVANS (Superintendent of Schools, Winfield, Kansas; Chairman of the Conference Committee): Ladies and gentlemen, if I seem to you to be unduly excited in opening this conference, it is because I am. It is an honor to me to be able to declare the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship now open.

It gives me great pleasure to present the chairman of the morning. The teachers of America have accorded Miss Mowrey the highest honor they can bestow. Miss Mowrey is a classroom teacher in West Virginia. This year she is serving as president of the National Education Association, an organization of more than half a million teachers ranging all the way from college presidents up to rural teachers and primary teachers. Miss Corma Mowrey, chairman of the program this morning. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MOWREY: Mr. Chairman, Dr. Harris, members of the Department of Justice, National Education Association staff members and delegates to this Sixth National Conference on Citizenship: It is my pleasant duty to extend to you on behalf of the National Education Association a warm welcome to the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship. Represented here today are 600 organizations, all of which have for one of their primary objectives the preservation of our freedoms.

Tribute to Colors, Invocation, and Anthem Lift Conferees' Hearts

Will the conference please stand, place your right hand over the heart, while the colors are advanced by the American Legion National Guard of Honor led by Captain Gail T. Judd. Then please remain standing for the invocation to be given by the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the United States Senate, and remain standing for our National Anthem.

(Advancement of the Colors)

THE REVEREND FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS (Chaplain of the United States Senate): Let us lift our hearts in prayer.

Our Father, God, author of liberty, who hath made and preserved us a nation, our fathers trusted in Thee and were not confounded. In Thee we trust. In this high hour we would bow first of all in reverence, acknowledging Thee in whom we live and move and have our being. We come conscious of those lofty and eternal verities that outlast the strident noises of any day. The world about us is full of the clamor of the violent, the dark deeds of the ruthless and the agony of uncounted hosts of Thy children haunted by nameless dread, and ground in the dust by tyranny. Strengthen us to make our utmost contribution to the healing of all this tangled tragedy. As beneficiaries of this privileged land, make us more and more proficient in the art of true citizenship. Give to us peace in our time, O Lord. To our stricken generation may there come peace with honor, with human dignity vindicated, and social justice the canopy of all nations of the earth. For Thine is the kingdom to which the future belongs, and the power, and the glory. Amen.

(National Anthem)

CHAIRMAN MOWREY: We are delighted to have with us the United States Army Band with Captain Hugh Curry as leader. A little later we shall again hear this very fine band. (Applause)

I should like to present to you a person who in reality needs no introduction to this audience and who has already stood before it. This is the second year that Mr. Evan E. Evans, Superintendent of schools in Winfield, Kansas, has served as chairman of the National Education Association's Citizenship Committee. As chairman, first of exhibits of the Citizenship Conference, and for the last two years as chairman of the Conference Planning Committee, Mr. Evans, with the many activities that are a part of his work, has put the chairmanship of this committee first. He has brought to the conference his own

The Conference is off to a glowing start. Upper left: *The Attorney General and the president of the NEA greet the President and the First Lady of the Land.* Upper right*: *Senator Wayne Morse addresses the opening session.* Center*: *The Attorney General welcomes the delegates. Lower left: Delegates from Alaska and Hawaii register at the conference—Mr. Kenneth Clem, educational supervisor, Territorial Department of Education, Juneau, and Mr. Frank Drees, director of adult education, Territorial Department of Education, Honolulu.* Lower right: *Miss Emma Mae Brotze, chairman of conference coffee hours, has coffee with Mr. Harry Eby of the Boy Scouts of America, and Miss Joy Alexander, a member of the youth panel.*

also a staunch supporter of this citizenship conference. He is universally known as a champion of human rights.

It is my pleasure to present to you the Attorney General of the United States, the Honorable J. Howard McGrath.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

The Attorney General Speaks of the U.S. and World Freedom

THE HONORABLE J. HOWARD MCGRATH (Attorney General of the United States): Miss Mowrey, Mr. Evans, distinguished guests, distinguished representatives and delegates to the National Conference on Citizenship, ladies and gentlemen:

It is indeed with a good deal of pleasure that I again welcome you to this Sixth Annual National Conference on Citizenship. I know that when you return to your respective homes and communities and organizations you will carry back the inspiration and the greater understanding that come from an exchange of views on the various problems that confront us as citizens of our great democracy. I am certain that as a result of these meetings you will be more resolute in your determination not only to promote good citizenship in your own community but to stimulate and diffuse knowledge with respect to those things that count most toward making good citizens.

The theme of this year's conference, "Freedom in One World: Today and Tomorrow," seems to me to be most timely. Our conferences in the past have emphasized the citizen's responsibility for freedom at home. This year's conference aptly stresses also the citizen's responsibility for freedom all over the world.

I have therefore chosen for my topic this morning "The United States and World Freedom," because it is evident to all thinking men that world freedom and freedom in the United States have now become interdependent. For today communism threatens every nation on earth, every religious faith, every home, every individual. We know now that it is the plan of the Kremlin to subdue and enslave the entire civilized world if it is possible to do so.

A committee of the American Bar Association has very recently made an exhaustive and objective study of the true nature of communism, and it has concluded that the Communist Party, all over the world, including the United States, "is in fact not a political party as such, but is an integral part of a world-wide conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of the world by force and violence."

Accordingly, the task before the world today is to find the means of combating this grave danger of communism, eradicating it, and thus bringing about peace under international law and order. We must attain a world in which peaceful nations may flourish, "unawed by force from without or the threat of subversion from within."

Though we have never desired it, events have placed our country in a position of world leadership. As an eminent historian has recently indicated, the United States has been on the road to world leadership for at least half a century; but it was only during the last decade that the nature and the obligations of that leadership have become clear, not only to Americans but to people everywhere. We were never ambitious to exercise world influence. We did not seek it, we did not want it, and do not want it now; but that does not belie the fact that we cannot escape the responsibility that it has brought to us even against our wishes.

As a world leader, we have a potent part to play in stemming the tide of communism and aggression and in halting the peril that faces all mankind on a global scale. This duty of ours is well expressed to our country in the words of our great President when he said:

> At this critical time in world history, men and women everywhere look to our nation for leadership. They know that hope for a better life, human freedom, decency, justice, religion—all these things—depend upon the vigor with which we lead the free world in its fight for survival.

This world leadership necessarily imposes on us many heavy responsibilities. Our conduct as a democratic nation must be exemplary. What happens within our own borders now influences the thinking of all humanity.

The inventive genius of man has drawn us all into one close community. The earth has geographically contracted so that all nations have now become close neighbors. Liberty on any one spot on this globe cannot be preserved unless unremitting efforts are made to preserve it everywhere else. Isolationism is no longer possible or even feasible for any society or group. Aggression or abridgment of freedom anywhere in organized society is abridgment of freedom of all society. Communist expansion in any part of the globe is a direct attack upon our own soil, our own government, upon our own very lives. Therefore we must contain and defeat this menace wherever it may appear. And we must do our part in assuring that future day when all nations can once again live in a spirit of brotherhood.

A conference such as this is a concrete illustration of the possibility and practicability of international brotherhood. A year ago I told you that a conference such as this is "the voice of all our People and therefore . . . truly . . . the workshop of democracy." I assert today with equal emphasis that this

spice and informality and democratic spirit which have become in truth the very spirit of this conference. Mr. Evans is going to tell you briefly of the conference purpose. Mr. Evans. (Applause)

Conferences Have Grown in Line With Recommendations of Participants

MR. EVAN E. EVANS: Miss Mowrey, distinguished guests: When the First National Conference on Citizenship was called some five years ago the committees working on the conference had in mind that all the effort being put into practicing good citizenship by all the national and state organizations might better be coordinated if representatives of those groups could come together and talk about the responsibilities of citizenship, about the ways to get more people to assume those responsibilities, and other things that have to do with actual citizenship practice. The first conference was not a large conference, but the people who were working on the activities felt most happy because the people who attended were of the opinion that the conference was well done and was well worthwhile. The conference has grown until this conference promises to be not only the largest of the six that have been held, but a better representation of the national and local groups than we have ever had before.

After the conference is over Saturday night or Sunday or Monday, if as we go home, we say "Well, we have had a good conference; we had some great speeches," and stop there, in the opinion of the members of the joint committee, the conference will have been a failure. I wish you would note on your program on the back pages the great numbers of people who are listed who have been participating as advisers on the advisory committee. I want you to know that those are not just names there, but those are the names of people who have made several trips into Washington each year to advise together and to talk together about this conference and how it should be run. It is the opinion of that group of people that if the conference is to be successful, we must become so enthusiastic here and so earnest in the responsibilities that we as citizens and we as members of organizations must get our organizations to assume, that we will go back and do that job. Then, if that happens, the conference will have been a success.

The conference is organized along the lines that you have recommended, you as participants in previous conferences and youth conferences and youth who are members of the advisory committee. You asked for more group discussions. This year you have more group discussions than you have ever had. You asked for smaller groups so all people could have an opportunity

to participate, and you will find that the groups are smaller than they have been in the past. In the past we may have had a little difficulty in some of the physical arrangements of the groups. Those are being taken care of. If we can get from our group discussions and from the general sessions ways in which we can work through our organization so that our organizations and the members of our organizations will be even more earnest about responsibilities—responsibilities which we can and must assume if democracy is to continue to grow and to be effective as we feel it should be—then this conference will be a success. The people who have organized the conference have done about all they can now do to make the conference a success; and I hope you will be so inspired with the program this morning and from meeting the people in your groups that you will, come the end of the week, go home to your organizations and urge them to be even more ambitious and more earnest and more aggressive in getting the members of our organizations and the members whom we represent here to assume all of those privileges that go with being responsible American citizens. (Applause)

Teachers Grateful for Cooperation With Department of Justice

CHAIRMAN MOWREY: Thank you, Mr. Evans.

For the deepening confidence in this annual meeting as well as the widening scope of its program, much credit is due to the United States Department of Justice, official agency of our government pledged to safeguard the human freedoms at home, a government now launching a mighty drive to aid other nations in the world who wish to achieve or maintain those freedoms for their own peoples also. The teachers of this country are grateful for this opportunity to cooperate with the Department of Justice. The members of the NEA staff especially appreciate the pleasant working relationships that they have had with the personnel of the Department in planning and carrying on this annual project.

In presenting to you the Attorney General of the United States, it is again my privilege to present to you a person who needs no introduction to this audience. The Attorney General of the United States has had a long career of public service. Twice he was re-elected as Governor of Rhode Island. He resigned as Governor to become Solicitor General of the United States. In 1946 he was elected United States Senator from Rhode Island. In 1947 he became Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, an office he held until his appointment to the Cabinet of the President in August of 1949. A staunch supporter of citizenship wherever he is, the Attorney General is

also a staunch supporter of this citizenship conference. He is universally known as a champion of human rights.

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As a world leader, we have a potent part to play in stemming the tide of communism and aggression and in halting the peril that faces all mankind on a global scale. This duty of ours is well expressed to our country in the words of our great President when he said:

> At this critical time in world history, men and women everywhere look to our nation for leadership. They know that hope for a better life, human freedom, decency, justice, religion—all these things—depend upon the vigor with which we lead the free world in its fight for survival.

This world leadership necessarily imposes on us many heavy responsibilities. Our conduct as a democratic nation must be exemplary. What happens within our own borders now influences the thinking of all humanity.

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A conference such as this is a concrete illustration of the possibility and practicability of international brotherhood. A year ago I told you that a conference such as this is "the voice of all our People and therefore . . . truly . . . the workshop of democracy." I assert today with equal emphasis that this

conference is a perfect manifestation of a workshop of democracy on a world scale. Representing as you do every segment of our populace, you are truly by your presence here showing America in action. You come here in a spirit of unity from far-flung sections of our land, to demonstrate by your deliberations that people can get together in spite of many differences of background and culture to evaluate the common factors that affect all mankind and the welfare of all nations. Mutual respect and understanding, therefore, will be the basic reason why this conference and its deliberations will be, I am sure, so eminently successful.

How different is this process from the sad spectacle we see in those areas of the world dominated by the communist masters. Here we have no conformity of ideas enforced by terror. Here there is no uniformity of opinion that must adhere to the patterns demanded by the infallible rulers of the state. Engraved in the minds and the hearts of our people is a tradition of liberty. The sacred expression of that tradition is the Bill of Rights, which assures to each one of us the freedom to assemble, to express our grievances, and to voice our thoughts. Ours is a way of life rooted in open discussion, the exchange of opposing views, and rule by a decision made by the majority. And an inherent component of that way of life is tolerance for minority views.

I have always had the most profound sympathy for the people in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. It is their sad misfortune that they must live under the yoke of the communist oppressors. Their minds must feed on the meager pabulum doled out by the hands of authority. Their expressions can never venture beyond the limits officially charted, for the unsanctioned idea might today or tomorrow be deemed a treasonable deviation. They know from tragic experience the fate of dissenters. Their discussions must be furtive and conducted in apprehension that an informer or spy may be listening. They live in constant dread of the insistent knock on the door in the dark of night and the swift condemnation of those who have incurred official displeasure. To them freedom is a precious but distant dream.

To free Americans the ways of tyranny will always be abhorrent. To us the oppressions of the communist despotism are a sure sign of its innate weakness and insecurity. History teaches that it is the weak ruler who usually throttles opposing views and tramples individual rights. And history teaches also that although authority supported by terror may prevail temporarily, it invariably nourishes the seeds which bring about its own destruction. The day of doom has come for all tyrannies of the past, and the day of doom will surely dawn for the communist dictatorship of the present era. (Applause)

Our society has been built on the solid bedrock of respect for the rights of the individual. It is a thrilling commentary on the vigor of our institutions that even in these days of national peril we are devoting our best thoughts

and efforts to safeguarding our heritage of liberty. Even the traitors and spies in our midst have had the benefits of the due process of law guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. These enemies of our society have been convicted of violating our laws only after a fair and open trial before a jury, at which they were represented by counsel, were confronted by the evidence against them, and were given opportunity to present evidence in their own behalf. And they were able to challenge their convictions on appeal, including an eventual consideration by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The insistence upon a maximum of fair play, even during a period of national danger, is a striking illustration of our determination to preserve the traditions of liberty entrusted to our care. So too is our passionate devotion to the principles of open discussion and free agreement, which this conference so outstandingly typifies. By our actions in advancing the right of our citizens to a voluntary choice, arrived at through a tolerant exchange of ideas, we surely offer a shining example for the oppressed peoples of other lands.

Only on such a basis can a world society of peace and freedom be constructed. To achieve that goal, however, we must meet the aggression that is now waged upon us. To do that we are girding ourselves materially. We are mobilizing and marshaling our every vital physical force to guard ourselves against the enemies of our way of life both from without and from within.

Sad to say, we do have enemies from within. I can assure you, however, that the Department of Justice, through all its agencies, is on the alert for the nefarious enemies from within. There is no room in our midst for the spy and saboteur, for the traitor and the disloyal. As chief law enforcement officer of our government, I want to pledge to this most representative conference of our citizens that we shall spare no effort or means to eradicate the vipers that are gnawing secretly at our vitals from within.

In this effort we shall need the cooperation of all our people. We shall need and must have a united front. There is much controversy today as to national policy, but this controversy, so long as it is in the interest of the common welfare, to me seems but a healthy attribute of democracy at work.

We must also animate amongst all of us a spirit of patience. We must realize that it took us many years to develop our concepts of liberty and justice. This is a rapidly changing world. The great and complex problems of the new world order will be solved only after long and constant effort on the part of countries in accord with our principles of liberty. We must learn to adjust ourselves to the slow processes of history.

Equally important, we must, as good citizens, have complete faith and confidence in the truth that a democracy can solve its problems within its constitutional framework. In calculating our resources and comparing those of the communist world, we must remember that the greatest resource we possess

conference is a perfect manifestation of a workshop of democracy on a world scale. Representing as you do every segment of our populace, you are truly by your presence here showing America in action. You come here in a spirit of unity from far-flung sections of our land, to demonstrate by your deliberations that people can get together in spite of many differences of background and culture to evaluate the common factors that affect all mankind and the welfare of all nations. Mutual respect and understanding, therefore, will be the basic reason why this conference and its deliberations will be, I am sure, so eminently successful.

How different is this process from the sad spectacle we see in those areas of the world dominated by the communist masters. Here we have no conformity of ideas enforced by terror. Here there is no uniformity of opinion that must adhere to the patterns demanded by the infallible rulers of the state. Engraved in the minds and the hearts of our people is a tradition of liberty. The sacred expression of that tradition is the Bill of Rights, which assures to each one of us the freedom to assemble, to express our grievances, and to voice our thoughts. Ours is a way of life rooted in open discussion, the exchange of opposing views, and rule by a decision made by the majority. And an inherent component of that way of life is tolerance for minority views.

I have always had the most profound sympathy for the people in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. It is their sad misfortune that they must live under the yoke of the communist oppressors. Their minds must feed on the meager pabulum doled out by the hands of authority. Their expressions can never venture beyond the limits officially charted, for the unsanctioned idea might today or tomorrow be deemed a treasonable deviation. They know from tragic experience the fate of dissenters. Their discussions must be furtive and conducted in apprehension that an informer or spy may be listening. They live in constant dread of the insistent knock on the door in the dark of night and the swift condemnation of those who have incurred official displeasure. To them freedom is a precious but distant dream.

To free Americans the ways of tyranny will always be abhorrent. To us the oppressions of the communist despotism are a sure sign of its innate weakness and insecurity. History teaches that it is the weak ruler who usually throttles opposing views and tramples individual rights. And history teaches also that although authority supported by terror may prevail temporarily, it invariably nourishes the seeds which bring about its own destruction. The day of doom has come for all tyrannies of the past, and the day of doom will surely dawn for the communist dictatorship of the present era. (Applause)

Our society has been built on the solid bedrock of respect for the rights of the individual. It is a thrilling commentary on the vigor of our institutions that even in these days of national peril we are devoting our best thoughts

and efforts to safeguarding our heritage of liberty. Even the traitors and spies in our midst have had the benefits of the due process of law guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. These enemies of our society have been convicted of violating our laws only after a fair and open trial before a jury, at which they were represented by counsel, were confronted by the evidence against them, and were given opportunity to present evidence in their own behalf. And they were able to challenge their convictions on appeal, including an eventual consideration by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The insistence upon a maximum of fair play, even during a period of national danger, is a striking illustration of our determination to preserve the traditions of liberty entrusted to our care. So too is our passionate devotion to the principles of open discussion and free agreement, which this conference so outstandingly typifies. By our actions in advancing the right of our citizens to a voluntary choice, arrived at through a tolerant exchange of ideas, we surely offer a shining example for the oppressed peoples of other lands.

Only on such a basis can a world society of peace and freedom be constructed. To achieve that goal, however, we must meet the aggression that is now waged upon us. To do that we are girding ourselves materially. We are mobilizing and marshaling our every vital physical force to guard ourselves against the enemies of our way of life both from without and from within.

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Equally important, we must, as good citizens, have complete faith and confidence in the truth that a democracy can solve its problems within its constitutional framework. In calculating our resources and comparing those of the communist world, we must remember that the greatest resource we possess

is the intelligence and resourcefulness that are always inherent in a free people. That is a far greater and far more potent asset than anything material.

Next Sunday we shall all observe "I Am An American Day." Each of us will surely give thanks to the Almighty for the possession of the most wonderful gift of American citizenship. It should also, however, be a day when we should pause and ponder on the great responsibilities that we assume as American citizens—the responsibility of preserving the torch of freedom for the one world we have today.

We Americans truly have an hour with destiny. The good Lord has given us of this generation the historic role and opportunity, in cooperation with other nations, to help create a peace which will preserve the world in accord with the eternal truths which He teaches through the various creeds. We have been chosen with other people to defend the spiritual values—the moral code—against the forces of iniquity which would destroy them. We know that reasoned morality has never failed man and that only force and oppression have wrecked the world from time to time. We will stand vindicated at the bar of history only if we guide our activities in accord with the eternal spiritual principles taught to us by all religious leaders. Yes, we must gird ourselves spiritually as well as physically to overcome the totalitarian onslaught.

The story of the United States of America is a most thrilling revelation of man's determination to be free. Our country was first settled by those who sought freedom of religion. It was nurtured by our ancestors who craved freedom of expression and thought. It was developed by our people who enjoyed freedom of opportunity. We are now seeking freedom from fear—fear of the destruction of our rich heritage. With the help of such meetings as these, and with the guidance of Divine Providence, we shall not only retain but will strengthen this heritage of freedom, not only for ourselves but also for all people and all posterity everywhere. We shall then have Freedom in One World, not only for today but for every tomorrow that there is to be. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN HOWREY: Thank you, Mr. Attorney General.

The next speaker is not only our associate secretary of the National Education Association, but is also executive secretary of the Educational Policies Commission, a group that has led in educational thought in this country. He is also Secretary General of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession. Among his international assignments he has served as Deputy Secretary of the General Preparatory Commission of UNESCO at London in 1945, as UNESCO lecturer in 1946, and as adviser to the United States Delegation at the Second General Conference on UNESCO at Mexico City in 1947. In connection with these assignments and others, he has traveled widely in Europe

and elsewhere. Dr. William G. Carr has also written widely. At this time it is my very great pleasure to present to you one of America's leading educators, Dr. Carr. (Applause)

Associate Secretary of the NEA Sounds Note of Realism

DR. WILLIAM G. CARR (Associate Secretary, National Education Association): Madam President, distinguished guests and friends: I am to speak to you upon "A Note of Realism," and by "note" I do not mean exactly a demisemiquaver but it will be nearly that brief.

Realism, I think, requires a clear definition of the nature of our task and a resolute program to come to grips with the needs thus defined.

Our task as American citizens is to meet the current threat to our freedom and the world's peace.

That threat has three characteristics that are important for citizenship and education:

First, the emergency is expected to last a long time—perhaps for decades.

Since we face a protracted emergency, the care and education of young people take on increasing importance.

Second, the emergency is in large part a struggle for the loyalties of men.

Only people who are well-grounded in their own loyalties will be able to keep this nation free, or to win others to the cause of freedom.

Third, in terms of sheer numbers, the United States is at a disadvantage.

Our advantages arise from industrial productivity and superior education. We can maintain this advantage by training loyal citizens and productive workers.

Thus, these three circumstances—the probable long duration of the emergency, the competition of ideals, and the advantage of the West in educated men rather than in numbers—all combine to stress the top priority of education in national security.

Do the people of the United States generally appraise their problem in these terms? Will they act soon enough and strongly enough to meet it?

If we seek the answer to these questions by examining our past record as a people, the outlook is not reassuring.

During World War I, leaders of education warned the public of the dangers arising out of lag between educational support and educational needs. In 1918 the National Education Association warned of "the threatened collapse of the teaching profession." The day after the armistice was signed, President Wilson released a special request that all qualified teachers return to the classroom.

But it was too late. Two years after the war, over 18,000 schools closed for lack of a teacher. By 1923, one out of every seven rural teachers had less than one year of training *beyond the eighth grade*. Other events followed. In World War II, 659,000 men were rejected by the Army on account of educational deficiencies, and over 300,000 men had to be taught to write simple sentences.

During the Second World War, the teaching profession again called attention to the certain consequences of neglect. The secretary of the National Education Association appealed directly to all local school boards. The public response was inadequate. Across the nation, a hundred thousand teachers *in a single year* were driven from the classroom by economic pressures.

Once again, events proved that the gravity of the emergency had not been exaggerated. About 1948, the press and the public generally became aware of what had happened. Headlines and magazine articles belatedly proclaimed the educational emergency. The facts should have been no surprise to any literate person. They were fully available to all in a position of public responsibility.

On two previous occasions within living memories, major national crises have undermined the schools, enfeebled the ability of the nation to meet subsequent crises, and injured beyond repair the educational opportunities of two generations.

Will this record be repeated now? That question is being decided at this moment by local boards of education, by state legislatures, and by the Congress. Teachers and civic leaders must unite to see that they give the right answer.

If you are in doubt about the answer, I invite you to consider for a moment the education of Ivan Ivanoff who attends school anywhere from Leningrad to Vladivostok. He learns, no doubt, many useful things in the way other boys and girls learn. But he learns also that Joseph Stalin is a demigod, that his country is beset by rapacious enemies, and that truth is what the state declares the truth to be. In that vast inverted triangle, stretching from the Bering Straits and the Yellow Sea almost to the Baltic and the Adriatic, one third of the population of the earth, shut off from all other influences, is taught day and night, year after year, to hate and despise every element of independent thought which is identified with the thunder of reason or the whisper of conscience.

It is for our military experts to estimate the peril which resides in totalitarian armies; for our scientists to assess progress in nuclear physics; for our diplomats to trace the latest sinuosities of Soviet diplomacy. But teachers and civic leaders are, I suggest, obligated to proclaim the threat to our future which arises from a neglect of education. To cross the frontier of realism requires that we act now to meet and repulse education for tyranny by means of an education for freedom of unprecedented scope and effectiveness.

We shall not develop such education until we put a competent, prepared, well-adjusted, secure and unafraid teacher in charge of every 20 to 25 children; in a comfortable building that is not a menace to the health and education of those who inhabit it. We do not do those things now. Until we do them, we shall not greatly improve our citizenship education. That is the simple message of realism that I want to put before you this morning.

Not long ago I was talking with a fourth grade teacher. Her school has no space for outdoor recess periods. The school has no cafeteria, so lunches are eaten in the classroom. From the time the bell rings in the morning until the children start home in the afternoon, that teacher is in the presence of 42 students in a classroom built for 35. She is a good teacher, well trained, eager to do a good job; but that teacher said to me, "The fact is, Friday afternoon I *hate* some of those children." I am not speaking of the slums in American education, in some remote, poverty-stricken area. This teacher works in one of our wealthiest cities. There are thousands like her.

Shall we take part in some lively discussions, pass some eloquent resolutions, pick up a few good ideas here and there, make some new friends, and then look up the time tables and the list of next engagements? If we do only that much this conference will be useful, but it will not be crucial.

This could be the greatest conference on American citizenship and American education that has ever been held. The times call aloud for leadership. The supreme test of civic intelligence and loyalty will come in the next few years.

This conference contains the people and the powerful organizations that could, in the next two years, make American education an instrument to secure the future of this nation. If each individual here would say that his top priority is to make the schools of America strong for their great task, not just good enough to get by, but good enough for the American future, that would be realism. It is, I suppose, after all, idealism too. For ideals and realities, strive as we will to separate them, are inexorably intertwined. Action without ideals is aimless and ideals without action are dreaming.

At this conference unless we are careful, enterprises of great pith and moment will lose the name of action. Action—not action without thought, but thought followed by action—must be our announced goal and our deepest individual commitment. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN MOWREY: Thank you, Dr. C[illegible]rr.

The Honorable Wayne Lyman Morse, Republican Senator from Oregon, has been in the United States Senate since 1944. In these years, and before, as chairman of the President's Railway Emergency Board, and as public member of the National War Labor Board, he has made himself felt as a force for liberal and constructive American citizenship. As lawyer, educator, law-

maker, our speaker this morning is certainly most welcome to this platform. I am indeed happy to present the Honorable Wayne Lyman Morse, Senator from Oregon.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

Senator Wayne Morse Explains Citizenship in Time of Crisis

THE HONORABLE WAYNE L. MORSE (United States Senator from Oregon): Madam Chairman, Mr. Attorney General, other distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: It is a heartwarming experience for me to be back with many of my former associates in the United States Department of Justice and also to be together again with a great many of my friends in the field of education. I didn't know that Howard McGrath was going to be on the platform with me this morning—I called the Department of Justice yesterday and understood he was out of the city—nevertheless, I think it fitting for me to say that, not only as Attorney General but as a former United States Senator, he is to be complimented and thanked for the part that he has played in making possible this great conference. As a member of the party of the opposition, I want to say to you that I have the highest of regard for the Americanism of Howard McGrath and for his understanding of the problems of freedom that confront this country today and of the importance of our holding fast the basic guarantees and principles of the Constitution to which I wish to address myself here this morning. (Applause)

We have represented here a great many different organizations, each formed around a distinct aspect of our culture. In such a conference as this, where so many viewpoints are held, there is bound to be some disagreement on how we are to maintain freedom where it exists today and to achieve freedom in one world tomorrow. I would have it no other way.

We can meet in an area of disagreement and yet reconcile differences peaceably and with a recognition of the other man's view because we have a common heritage of constitutional liberties and freedom—a heritage which has proved that each one of us benefits most by letting the other man think and speak independently—a heritage which recognizes logic and individual expression rather than emotionalism, privilege, or physical force as the instrument of decision.

It is because I want to see us continue to meet in this way that I speak today on "Citizenship in Time of Crisis"—on the constitutional guarantees owed to each one of us and the disturbing extent to which those guarantees are being infringed upon or ignored. When I say that I am a Constitutional Liberal, I mean that I believe that we must constantly practice the tenets of our Constitution, and that we must especially practice those tenets in a period

of crisis. Every one of the principles of the Bill of Rights was grounded in crisis, in a period of revolution. There our founding fathers recognized that only through the increase of individual freedom, rather than through the totalitarianism of a monarchy, would we be able to solve our various difficulties. The best judicial expression of this principle I have ever found is in the famous Blaisdell case where Justice Hughes spoke these magnificent words:

> The Constitution was adopted in a period of grave emergency. Its grants of power to the Federal Government and its limitations of the power of the states were determined in the light of emergency and they are not altered by emergency. What power was thus granted and what limitations were thus imposed are questions which have always been, and always will be, the subject of close examination under our constitutional system.
>
> While emergency does not create power, emergency may furnish the occasion for the exercise of power. The constitutional question presented in the light of an emergency is whether the power possessed embraces the particular exercise of it in response to particular conditions. Thus, the war power of the Federal Government is not created by the emergency of war, but it is a power given to meet that emergency. It is a power to wage war successfully, and thus it permits the harnessing of the entire energies of the people in a supreme cooperative effort to preserve the nation. But even the war power does not remove constitutional limitations safeguarding essential liberties.

I say, ladies and gentlemen, that that great pronouncement of the Supreme Court speaking through Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, is a pronouncement that leaders in both great parties these days should consider and rededicate themselves to. It is a pronouncement which I think the American people, in the present stage of emotional hysteria that characterizes public opinion these days, should also reflect upon and analyze.

As always, however, a period such as the one we are now facing unleashes forces which are of the greatest danger to us. The more dramatic the issue—the more dangerous the crisis—the easier it is for emotion to replace reason, and for those to benefit who can only prevail through the control of mass emotion.

Right now our nation is in great physical danger. As could be expected, one of the most dramatic events we have ever seen has arisen as a product of that danger, bringing with it emotional reactions of the most violent sort. Generally, in such cases as this, the American people have eventually made the necessary decisions on the issues with temperance and with sound reason. I have always had an abiding faith in the ultimate and reasoned judgments of the American people.

Let me digress from manuscript long enough to say I believe in time of challenge it is a challenge of statesmanship on the part of elected officials to stand out against public opinion which is temporary in nature on the particular issue until such time as reasoned judgment returns to the people. (Applause)

However, perhaps as never before, grounds can be found for the fears of some that this time we are going to let the crisis cut our Constitution to shreds.

We have seen many of our responsible citizens unthinkingly cry "impeachment" when even a cursory rereading of the Constitutional grounds for impeachment would have demonstrated how unsound such a cry was when unaccompanied by legal proof. We have observed some of our political leaders, either ignoring or forgetting the Constitution, stirring up such cries for their own partisan ends.

Nevertheless, I am convinced that the time has not come when such political cries will be successful with the American people. Thank God, the time has not come when trial by accusation will be substituted for trial by proof. The American people will still decide issues on the facts—if they can get those facts. They will continue to insist that men in government should place principle above politics; place the security of the country above elections. (Applause)

In the present case, we are finally coming around to getting the facts on our Far Eastern Policy to the people. I think that if we, in accordance with Constitutional principles, had received the facts much sooner, through, for example, greater Congressional consultation, our foreign policy leaders would not be faced with their present difficulty. As early as 1947 I warned in the Senate that the people were not being informed adequately on our foreign policy. It was obvious even then that a vacuum was being formed into which every kind of irresponsible accusation and claim would flow. Without the facts, it was automatic that even our primary forum, The American People, could not function objectively.

As a member of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, I have been participating directly in the hearings which are now bringing out the facts on the Korean conflict and our Far Eastern policy. I urged that these hearings be public in keeping with the Constitutional meaning of a fair trial so that the least possible inhibition would exist in making the facts publicly available. Even though this was not done, and I believe it should have been, I want to state that my good friend Senator Russell, Chairman of the Committee, is doing a magnificent job under the circumstances and limitations of an executive hearing.

By way of information on those hearings, I have come to the tentative conclusion on the facts so far given that the primary issue presented by the removal of General MacArthur is one purely of timing, and that the major factors involved, including our present mobilized strength and the circumstances faced by our allies, seem to justify the position of General Marshall the Joint Chiefs of Staff. When and under what circumstances we should take the steps urged by General MacArthur involves clearly a matter of timing and I think that the Joint Chiefs of Staff are right in their decision that now is not the time. (Applause)

The present foreign policy issue highlights dangers to our Constitution against which we constantly must fight. Right now the Committee is in the throes of an argument over applying the separation of powers doctrine.

Let me digress from the manuscript long enough to make this comment. Under our Constitutional system your freedom and your rights, and those of 153 million others like you, in my judgment in the last analysis are dependent upon maintaining and preserving the separation of powers doctrine. That doctrine means that our representative form of government exists upon the basis of a system of three branches of coordinate, equal, and independent departments of government. (Applause) Whenever any one branch seeks to subordinate another branch to it, then our Constitutional system itself is in danger. In the issue now pending before our committee—and I leave this meeting immediately after my address to make a Constitutional argument before that committee beginning at twelve o'clock this noon—in that debate, the proposal is made by some of my colleagues, and unfortunately colleagues within my party, that the separation of powers doctrine should be attacked. And they are attacking it, on the ground that confidential conversations at the White House should be disclosed to that committee. I issue here from this platform, as I have in committee, a challenge to produce one judicial precedent in the whole history of our country where the courts, which after all are the decisive body of last resort in handing down judicial opinions, have ever sustained the point of view taken by those who now want to require these White House conversations to be disclosed verbatim to the committee. (Applause) There is a fundamental constitutional question, and if they should succeed in having their way they would end up, as I told them yesterday, in court, with many insisting that it be decided in court. I have no question as to what that court decision would be.

We, I repeat, cannot destroy the separation of powers doctrine and retain the American Constitutional system, and the leaders of my party must be taught that lesson now. That is why I refused yesterday to withdraw my appeal and insisted that this be determined now and we go to court, if necessary, in this fight to preserve the separation of powers doctrine. (Applause)

I may say to my Republican friends present in the audience that I hope in 1952 we will have a Republican President, and I will be fighting to protect him, too, on the basis of the same Constitutional principle. (Applause)

This conference is one which brings together almost every significant democratic institution in our country. I note that the topics to be discussed during this conference relate primarily to our responsibility as citizens to the cause of freedom.

In that connection, I would like to reiterate a few of the basic principles inherent in our Constitution, principles which each citizen, individually and in groups, must take the responsibility for sustaining. The first and foremost principle, I believe, is that spiritual values are the keystone of a democratic way of life. Through the Declaration of Independence, Constitutional debates, the Constitution itself, and on up through the preamble of the United Nations Charter, we find an unbroken thread of statements recognizing the great spiritual values of the individual. I have said on other occasions that the primary difference between our form of government and the totalitarian systems of government is to be found in our recognition of the spiritual principle that the individual is the creature of a divine power. Upon this our founding fathers devised a governmental system designed to promote the dignity and the welfare of the individual—to carry out the concept that the state truly is the servant of and not the master of the people. Without the application of this principle right across the board to every one of our problems, we will never obtain freedom in one world. Most of us, at least in our hearts, recognize that fact. The difficulty is that too often the great forces of materialism cause us to lose sight of this great promise.

Another great answer we have to the anti-freedom forces is our belief in economic freedom which is characterized by our establishment of a capitalistic economy. Too often it is forgotten that our economic system and our political freedom are part of the same fabric. We could not maintain the political freedoms guaranteed to the individual by our Constitution under any form of a state economy. But, again, the mere belief in something does not produce the results. We must in this emergency demonstrate as we have never before, the superiority of a capitalistic economy over the totalitarianism of a state economy. To do this we are faced with the necessity of adopting some economic and production controls.

I am one who believes that punitive provisions in connection with such controls could never be counted upon to obtain affirmative compliance. Instead, the great mass of us will follow sound emergency controls which are based upon the facts because we know that we are thereby helping each other in our effort to win through this crisis. Here again we have a major advantage over such philosophies as communism. True, it may appear easier and more effective for a few people to determine what the rest should do, and then

enforce that decision. But in the long run the give and take of our democratic processes produces a system which will be followed by the people—because they have participated in its formulation.

I will, therefore, continue to urge that full consultation with the Congress, and with the most vitally affected interests, must be a condition precedent to any effective control system. In reality, a price and wage control agency in a democracy must be administered largely as a judicial forum where a fair decision between conflicting interests may be made. Short of this kind of an administration, with full facts called for and received, controls just will not work.

Too, we must adopt legislative policies which will bring us closer to a balanced budget and which will pay for our defense program as we go. In this connection, I have urged that, along with a drastic cutting of non-essential expenditures, we should revise major parts of our present tax structure. I have reason to believe that this year there is a good chance that proposals such as those made by the Committee on Economic Development will finally be utilized in such a revision.

Our third great principle that I will mention this morning is that of a belief in the essentiality of our being an educated people. Again we mean much more than that which is considered by the totalitarians to be education. We stand for the proposition that the people must not only be educated in the tools and techniques of our industrial economy, but also that they must be well grounded in the fundamental truths of democratic rights and responsibilities. If we are so educated, we will make the right decisions.

Through all of these principles runs one central thread—namely, the conflict between self-interest and what I have called on another occasion the "greater selfishness." As we learn more and more that a selfishness for the rights of others is our best guarantee that our own rights will be protected, we will come closer and closer to freedom. Mere reiteration is not enough. We must practice the "greater selfishness." In all humility I also suggest that each one of us should determine to start with himself, and to these ends mutually pledge, "to each other," as did our founding fathers in the Declaration of Independence, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, to the cause of freedom. There is no other way to retain and maintain freedom in a time of crisis. (Applause)

The Chairman Introduces the President and First Lady

CHAIRMAN MOWREY: I am sure we are all grateful to Senator Morse for this inspiring address.

Ladies and gentlemen, at 11:45 the President of the United States and Mrs.

Truman, together with a party from the White House, are due in this room. In the meantime and until their arrival, I should like for Mr. Evans to introduce some special guests present at this time. Mr. Evans.

(Introduction of guests)

CHAIRMAN MOWREY: Ladies and gentlemen: We are most happy to have with us the President of the United States and the First Lady of the Land, Mrs. Truman.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

CHAIRMAN MOWREY: Our President has sent greetings and has given his support to the National Conference on Citizenship since its initiation. He has received the conference each time it has met in Washington. Today, ladies and gentlemen, we have the highest honor that can be given to this conference. I am happy to present to you a stalwart champion of human freedom, the President of the United States.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

President Truman Says Citizens Must Make Right Decisions

PRESIDENT TRUMAN: Madam Chairman, Mr. Attorney General, distinguished guests and ladies and gentlemen: It is a very great pleasure for me to be here this morning, and I am glad to join in welcoming this conference to Washington. I am strongly in favor of what you are doing here to help the people of this country to become better citizens.

The citizen's job is an important one. It is the most important job in this great Republic. The job of being an American citizen keeps growing more difficult and more important every day. In some countries the important decisions are made by the rulers, and the citizens have to do what they are told. In our country the citizens make the basic decisions, and the officials of the government have to do what the people tell them—sometimes. (Laughter)

We must make the right decisions. You as citizens must make the right decisions. Never was there a time when the right decisions are so necessary as they are at this time. As the problems before our country become more complicated and more dangerous, our citizens must give greater attention to their job of making the basic decisions. It is your country as well as mine. It is your responsibility as well as mine. If you do not assume that responsibility—and your part of that responsibility—there is nobody to blame but yourselves when things go entirely wrong.

There is less margin for error than there used to be in making these decisions. Wrong decisions in this day and age may wreck the country—wreck it for all time.

There is a great deal of serious business before the government of this country now. This business concerns our national defense and our national survival. Important decisions have to be made by the Congress, the President, and the country, and they must be made soon. These decisions ought to be above petty politics because the welfare of the country depends upon them.

Citizens should understand the facts. You know, the hardest thing in the world to find is a real fact, and the easiest thing to do is to garble and confuse the facts. I repeat that: The easiest thing in the world to do is to garble and confuse the facts. We have a great deal of that going on right now.

I hope when you leave this conference you will take home with you an understanding of the major problems that we face and a sense of urgency about the decisions your government has to make. If this understanding can be spread among all the citizens groups you represent, I believe these decisions will be made promptly and I believe they will be made right.

If citizens know the facts and let their elected representatives know that they want the national interest put above every political interest and every special interest, then there won't be any question about keeping our nation strong and secure. This is one of the most important things that this conference can do.

We must face up to the major problems, face up to them and solve them, solve them in the interest of all the people and not in the interest of just a favored few.

I would like to outline for you a few of the major problems we have to face.

There is a lot of discussion nowadays about military strategy. That is all right. Military strategy is important, and everybody ought to be concerned about it. And I want to say to you that our defense department is headed by the ablest group of men that this or any other country ever had for planning and carrying out its defense policy. (Applause)

But there are a lot of other problems that are equally important. We have hard problems of defense production, the problem of taxes, the problem of stabilization. These are just examples of a few of the problems that we have. Unless we face these problems we won't be able to have any military strategy at all, and no matter how able our defense department men may be, there won't be anything to plan for.

The danger we face is very serious, the most dangerous we have ever faced in all our time. Our country faces the danger of war from an aggressive and imperialistic foreign power. Meeting this danger is all-important, and to meet that danger we should all stand together.

I think that some people fail to realize that this threat is very real. They

think there is still time to play petty politics. That is a terribly dangerous attitude. We must all get together behind a program adequate to meet the perils we face. We must get together now—without waiting and without playing petty politics.

The defense program comes first. That is our first and greatest problem. Our defense program and defense production must come ahead of everything else. If we let our defense program get snarled up or delayed or slashed, we will be courting disaster.

The suggestion was made by one Senator the other day that we ought to cut down the goal for our armed forces by half a million men. This same Senator wants to go for an all-out war in China all by ourselves. At a time like this such a cut would be foolish—not only foolish, it would be most dangerous.

Slashing the size of our armed forces would not be economy. It would be an invitation to war. Let me drive that home. What we are attempting to do now in the next year and a half we anticipate may cost about $60 billion. This expenditure over a year and a half may ward off World War III. One week of all-out war would cost from 10 to 20 times that. Which is the safest expenditure? Do you have to have that brought home to you, to say which you think is the safest expenditure?

In addition to that defense program of ours we must work with our allies. We must have friends in this troubled world. Yet some Senators and some other people would have us go it alone. In this world of ours in this day we can't go it alone. There is a free world and there is a slave world. We belong to the free world, and we are the head of the free world. We have to accept that responsibility and carry out that responsibility. (Applause)

Our defense program has two parts. One part is building up our own armed forces and our national strength. The other is helping our allies build up their strength so they can do their share in preventing war and stopping aggression. Both these parts of our defense program are essential to our security. Unless we help our allies we might have to face the real danger alone. Unless our allies are strong, the Kremlin might take them over, and the danger of war would increase. Without allies, our defense would be more difficult and more costly—more costly in dollars and, what is much more important, more costly in lives.

There is no economy in slashing our foreign aid program. Penny pinching now may mean throwing away the lives of our soldiers later on.

One of the reasons we are in this condition is because we didn't accept our responsibility immediately after the war was over. In 1945 a universal service law was asked for by the President of the United States. That universal service law, passed in 1945 or early in 1946, would have saved billions of dollars now. The people who prevented the enactment of a universal service

law in 1945 are trying by every means at their command to prevent it now. We must not let them prevent it because if is essential to the safety of the world and to our own safety.

We must build our economy for defense. We have the most amazingly prosperous economy in the history of the world, and we have to keep it that way. Our defense program includes not only increasing our armed forces, making planes, tanks and guns for them and for our allies; it also includes having and keeping a strong economy here at home. We must be able to turn out greater and greater quantities of goods for our armed services in case we have to meet an all-out attack. We have to have the economic strength to carry our defense program for a long time to come. If we are to be in this position, we need more factories, more electric power, and a higher production of basic materials. We need a sound and efficient civil economy to support our defense production. This means housing for defense workers and adequate public services to keep the defense production functioning efficiently. When we talk about cutting non-defense spending, we must be sure we don't cut the strength and the supports of our defense effort. People who are trying to do this are not helping our country. On the contrary, they are injuring it. If these "pull-backs" have their way, they will ruin our economy, and our country at the same time.

We must have a stabilized economy. Next to our defense program, the most important thing is economic stabilization. Economic stabilization means preventing inflation, and this includes price controls, wage controls, and rent controls. All these controls expire on June 30, just six weeks from now. The Congress is now considering whether these controls should be extended for another two years. Of course they have to be extended. If they are not, our whole economy will be in great danger, and every family in the country will suffer. Inflationary pressures will increase. Pressures on prices have eased off a little lately but these pressures will come back stronger than ever in the next few months. The more defense money we spend, the higher prices will tend to go.

It is a dangerous situation we are faced with. Already defense expenditures for the Army have increased the price of those things which the Army has to buy by more than $530 million. The increased cost of the Navy expenditures for the same purpose would have bought four of the largest air carriers, the most expensive battleships in the world. By June 30 we will have spent about $19 billion on defense since the attack in Korea a year ago. In the year beginning July 1 our defense spending will probably increase to about $40 billion. If we do not control inflation, that $40 billion will only buy half as much as it would even now. After we have built our defenses up enough to meet the present danger, we hope we won't have to spend at such a high rate and prices will be easier to hold in line.

Everybody says prices must be held down. Everybody says prices must be held down, but "You must hold down everybody's prices but mine. Everybody else must take a cut, and hold them still, but be careful, don't touch mine."

Right now it will take everything we can do to hold these prices down, and if we can hold them down until we get over the hump of our defense program, we will be past the danger point. If we can't, the cost of living will go through the roof, and that will mean ruin for our defense program and ruin for our strength as a nation. If we are going to control prices, the Congress has got to say, and say in no uncertain terms, that it wants prices controlled. Every special interest in the country is in Washington or on its way to lobby for a little exception for itself, and most of them can make out a pretty good case for themselves. There are enough special interest fellows appearing before the Senate Finance Committee to run the hearings well into June. The public interest fellows are not being heard because they don't know what is happening. You public interest people had better get here and look after your interests. (Applause)

It would be nice to give these private interest fellows some exceptions, but we can't have a lot of exceptions and still have effective price control. If we handed out all the exceptions that are asked for, price control would be just like a sieve and the tide of inflation would pour through it.

I don't think some of these special interest fellows understand what might happen if we had all-out inflation, but when they come here and ask for special exceptions, that is what they are asking for, all-out inflation.

You consumers should make a strong demand for price control. We are not going to be able to hold the cost of living against the tremendous inflationary pressures ahead unless we have a good, strong price-control law and a good, strong rent-control law. If you want that kind of law—if you, the consumers of this country, want Congress to provide a strong price control system—you had better see and you had better write to your Congressman.

You see things in the paper about "Write your President," and I get 40,000 letters a day as a result of that on special occasions. (Laughter) But I am saying to you right now you had better let your Congressman know where you stand. You had better see him and tell him about it while you are here. Tell him you want price controls that will work. We don't want to injure anybody with price control or any other control. We want an equitable control that will be fair to everybody—producer, middleman, and consumer. That is what we are working for.

The special interests and the lobbies will wreck the stabilization program as sure as you are born unless the main body of our citizens of this country get busy and do something about it, and that is what I am urging you to do.

We must pay as we go with a fair tax program. This is something that touches the most touchy nerve in the country, the pocketbook nerve. Another

thing that ought to be of special concern to every citizen in this country is our tax program. We have to have more taxes if we are to pay for our defense program and hold down inflation. Nobody likes to pay more taxes, but we have to do it because more taxes are essential to the safety and welfare of this country. So far we have been doing fairly well in paying for our defense program as we go along, but our defense expenditures are going to increase rapidly. We can't keep on paying as we go unless we get the tax money wherewith to do it.

Taxes are not so hard to take if everybody pays his fair share in accordance with his ability to pay, but if we let the special groups come in and riddle the tax program with special exemptions, we won't have a good tax program or a fair tax program. We won't be able to balance the budget, and we won't be able to stop inflation. I hope you all will realize and will take home as one of the messages of this conference that higher taxes are necessary to our defense program and to our survival as a nation.

I don't think people ought to have any trouble agreeing on the national interest. I think everybody—every citizen—is a patriot, and that he believes that the national interest comes first. At a time like this when some of our young men are fighting and dying to stop communist aggression and when so many of our boys face a period of military service to prepare for whatever may lie ahead, it ought to be easy for this country to get together in unity of spirit and action. It ought to be the easiest thing in the world to agree upon a good defense program and a good foreign aid program and a sound program to hold down the cost of living. But it is not easy. It is one of the most difficult things which any President has ever faced. I am going to face it, and with your help I am going to put it over. (Applause) Now we must get the facts to the people, and that is hard to do.

One of the main reasons, I think, is that most of our citizens—those who do the fighting and pay the bills and keep the country going—are just too occupied to make their voices heard. If they had all the facts and their representatives in Washington knew how they felt, I don't think we would have so much trouble with these great problems. That is why the work of this conference means so much in the present crisis of the world. The future depends on the opinions and the decisions of the American people.

If you can develop ways of keeping our citizens better informed, of helping them to understand the increasing duties of their citizenship, I have no doubt that this country will make the right decisions and that those decisions will lead the world to a just and lasting peace, and that is what we all want.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

LIBRARY
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

THE YOUTH PROGRAM

Thursday Evening, May 17, 1951

Dr. John W. Davis Presides; Father Carney Gives Invocation

The meeting convened at 7:30 o'clock p. m., Dr. John W. Davis, Chairman, National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education, presiding.

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: The Second General Session of the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship is now in session.

Largely from the standpoint of youth we will continue tonight to examine the functions and duties of American citizenship, for freedom in one world, for today and tomorrow.

It is in the true American traditions that we begin our deliberations with God's blessings. At this time may we bow with the Reverend Edward J. Carney, O.S.A. past national chaplain, The American Legion. Father Carney.

THE REVEREND EDWARD J. CARNEY, O.S.A. (past national chaplain, The American Legion): O Almighty God, we who have gathered here from near and far and every walk of life, may we tell You we love America for more reasons than we can number. We love our country not only with a secular but a religious love. Our love is mingled with a profound gratitude for all that our country has done for us and for our ancestors. Our love is a sentiment as well as a duty—a sentiment from which we could no more divorce ourselves than we could forget or deny the tender memories of our homes and families, the bonds of flesh and blood linking age to youth and coupling the present with all of the past.

It is here in America that we live and lead our lives for God. His providence planned and placed us here. In His wisdom He has appointed this land the scene of our vocation. As social beings we have been called to live for God the American way of life. We have been given to worship Him in the cathedral that is America, where the aisles are the mighty rivers and the whistling of the wind through our forests and fields is the note of a majestic organ, where the rock-ribbed mountains are the altars, and the pearl and purple of the clouds are the stained glass windows, where the sun itself is a sanctuary lamp kindled by the hand of God and hung out of the heaven to indicate his dwelling place.

Truly a government, like everything else, we must love it to preserve it. Help us to be citizens of America as we hope to be citizens of heaven, citizens

of our fatherland as we are children of God, members of every hamlet and town and city as we hope to be members of the city of God. Dear God, let us always realize that good citizenship and patriotism are a part of our calling, and that it is our vocation and duty to serve as best we can this land and people of ours for which and by whom great prices were paid.

May this and all succeeding conferences on citizenship take courage from its past great work and go on to loftier heights in the future. This is the blessing we ask of Thee through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: Under the direction of Miss Florence Booker, with Miss Eleanor Christ as the student leader, and Miss Shirley Repass, accompanist, the Washington and Lee High School Madrigal Singers will now present music. We are glad to have them. (Applause)

(Musical entertainment followed by applause.)

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: We wish to thank the Washington and Lee High School Madrigal Singers for that delightful music.

Our first thumbnail report will be made by Dr. Ruth Cunningham, associate professor, Teachers College, Columbia University. Dr. Cunningham has been so effective in other conferences in telling our groups what they have been doing and saying in their sessions that she is here tonight on popular demand. Dr. Cunningham will now do what you want her to do. Dr. Cunningham. (Applause)

Dr. Cunningham Reports on Freedom and Citizenship Activities

DR. RUTH CUNNINGHAM (Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York): Ladies and Gentlemen of the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship:

This is the first report *from* you *to* you, telling you of our work in discussion sessions this afternoon. Today, our first session, was a period of getting acquainted with each other and deciding areas for further exploration. Some important ideas have emerged even at this early date.

Several groups looked to the matter of what we want to accomplish in this conference. Of one thing we are sure: We don't want our only accomplishment to be a flow of high-sounding words. We want to make sure that we are thinking clearly, of course. We want freedom to become a part of our minds. But beyond that, we want freedom to become a part of our feelings, a part of our way of acting, a part of our sense of responsibility, a part of our loyalty, a part of our courage.

As one group put it, this conference will be meaningful to the extent that it develops ideas, methods, and procedures which can be translated into action back home.

To achieve real freedom for *all* of us, we need the help of each other. This is true in families, in communities, in organizations, in our nation, and in our world. We hope this conference may be an example of citizenship activities as we share our thinking and our experiences—as we help each other.

One group said: Our discussion groups at this conference are practical experiments in the techniques of democracy.

The topic of the day seems to have been well chosen: Freedom and Citizenship Activities. We want to underline that word, "activities." That means *doing something* about freedom. It means taking action as individuals and as groups. Doing something about freedom means learning techniques for effective action.

You know, just having our hearts in the right place isn't going to be enough. Just doing the best we can isn't going to be enough. We need to develop techniques of working for freedom which are as up to date as atomic energy. For, you know, freedom doesn't just "come naturally." We need to prepare ourselves for citizenship and for freedom.

The exhibits draw important visitors. Upper left*: *Mr. Gerald M. Van Pool, director, Student Activities, National Association of Secondary School Principals, NEA, and Miss Elizabeth Sutton of Breathitt County Schools, Jackson, Kentucky, browse before the Department of State exhibit.* Upper right: *The INS booth is background for star performers in the conference luncheon program—Dean Ernest O. Melby, New York University; Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, Washington Hebrew Congregation; Senator Estes Kefauver; Mrs. Ruth Montgomery,* New York Daily News; *Mr. Theodore Granik, director, American Forum of the Air; the Honorable Argyle R. Mackey, commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service; Mr. Charles Collinwood, White House correspondent for CBS News; Mr. Evan E. Evans, chairman of the Conference Committee.* Center left: *NEA Executive Secretary Willard E. Givens chats with the Honorable Carl B. Hyatt, director of the Attorney General's Citizenship Program.* Center right: *The chairman of the Conference Committee, Mr. Evan E. Evans, talks with Mr. Watson B. Miller of the American Legion, former commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service.* Lower left: *Dr. William G. Carr and Dr. Richard B. Kennan, NEA officials, visit with Miss Euphrosine Mikuzis, delegate of the Lithuanian Alliance of America.* Lower right: *Mr. Tom C. Clear, exhibits chairman, points out his Connecticut school exhibit to Senator Kefauver.*

Some have suggested that, as we work for freedom, we might start at home, and some of us have suggested that we better put our own house in order before we can be of help to people in other countries.

As you know, citizens of the District of Columbia have no vote. Some of our colleagues have suggested that we begin our campaign for freedom by freeing the citizens of the District of Columbia. Do you know that in our nation's capital we have segregated schools, that Negroes are barred from many restaurants and hotels? Maybe this is a place to start. There are schools and colleges in various parts of our nation that still operate on the archaic quota system. If you are in such an institution, you have your work cut out for you.

Maybe a look at ourselves is in order. Sometimes there is discrimination within organizations such as those represented at this conference. If so, maybe a starting place would be right there.

We know we face some exceedingly difficult problems. For example, when does freedom of a minority impinge upon the freedom of the majority? Can one be loyal to the UN and other groups without harming national loyalties? How far can we go in this matter of multiple loyalties?

Some people say we can find freedom through political and economic reforms. On the other hand, others say that what we need is the development of spiritual and moral values. Which is the way—or is it both?

How does a citizen distinguish between liberal ideas and dangerous subversive thoughts? Censorship is a crucial problem, especially since it tends to force people to identify with one extreme position or another.

Perhaps we should recognize that the present hysteria tends to curb our freedom. How can we encourage freedom of thought and expression in a period of protracted emergency, when we know that certain security protection is necessary?

Let us recognize that our efforts to achieve freedom may in themselves develop conflicts. Maybe we need to recognize this and learn how to handle these conflicts.

How can we develop in all people in America a concept of law based on the rights of the whole, equated with the freedoms of the individual?

Currently, in many businesses and industries the boss has the right to fire an employee without trial or hearing or even explanation. This practice may damage careers and cripple personalities. Isn't this a problem for citizens to face realistically?

One of our biggest problems today is apathy. Apathy is far too widespread, says one group. We must mobilize enthusiasm for getting more people to care—to care about their votes, to care about their neighbors, to care about the immediate community, to care about the world.

It is easy to talk about the need for others to take responsibility for the development of freedom, but it may be more difficult for us to recognize and accept *our* responsibilities. As one group says, We love our freedom in this land, but how can we get other peoples of the world to know about it, realize its power and possibilities, and—maybe choose to follow its concepts?

We see the problems, but we have some strong convictions, and in our groups we have stated them in terse, clear statements. Here are a few examples:

We reaffirm our belief in the freedom and basic ideals of democracy.

We need to understand and accept the fact that people differ.

In a democracy there is only one type of citizenship, but the responsibilities of citizens vary with the position and the capacity of the individual.

Restrictions on freedom often occur because of the lack of facts and the lack of free and open discussion based on facts.

As one group has said, We agree that a major problem for citizens is getting adequate information on public issues in order to educate the "general public" about these issues.

Adults in a democracy, says another group, should be free to hear *all* sides of a subject, even if the speakers are listed as subversive.

It is a citizen's responsibility to be alert to pressures which threaten freedom in education.

We need to recognize current threats to freedom of speech and freedom of thought wherever they are found.

We all recognize the basic elements of freedom: a maximum of self-determination with a minimum of necessary restraint.

A good citizen of America is a good citizen of the world.

The idea of "freedom from" isn't big enough to hold our major concepts. We need to think through the "freedom fors." On the other hand, another group says: Every freedom *to do* something, or *for* something, is balanced by a necessary restraint or freedom from something. For example, freedom to worship implies freedom from a state church. Freedom isn't something that is the right of a special few. If we think it is, we don't have freedom.

You know, I hesitate to repeat this one, being a New Yorker, but being an honest reporter, I hope, I guess I must: If given the chance, freedom, like a tree, can grow, even in Brooklyn. I suppose we could paraphrase that and say, The roots of freedom are deep within our heritage. They are a strong force among us, perhaps in spite of us. If given a chance, the tree will grow and flourish.

One group says: Discrimination is a matter of education, or maybe the lack of it. In other words, if we practice discrimination we are just plain stupid.

But we can teach people to think in terms of freedom. One avenue of such teaching is through our public schools. The community has special responsibilities to public education. Community members should have a share in deciding what is taught in schools. But, suggests a group, they should leave to professional educators the decision as to how it should be taught.

The public, through public education, has some special responsibilities to young citizens: for example, to provide able teachers and to provide adequate physical facilities. And we should see to it that there is a clear understanding and free and open discussion when school board members are selected.

But education for citizenship isn't a matter of the age of the learner. This education for citizenship should start in the home in infancy and should be continued throughout life.

You know, I guess this is what we are trying to say: we really mean it when we say that freedom is everybody's business, and we had better get busy. For we really mean it when we say we are ready to *work* for freedom in the world—freedom for today and tomorrow.

Youth Chairman, Mr. Flynn, "Shares the Work"

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: Thank you, Dr. Cunningham.

This is the share-the-work spot on this program. We are going to share the responsibility at this time with Mr. William J. Flynn. Mr. Flynn keeps his youthful appearance because of his association with young people. He is the assistant director of the American Junior Red Cross—Youth Chairman. He will address himself and direct your attention to the topic, "The Place of Youth in the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship." Mr. Flynn has been a member of our Planning Committee of this Conference and of these conferences from the beginning, and he has served the Citizenship Conferences in many capacities. It is with a great deal of pleasure that I present him now. Mr. Flynn. (Applause)

MR. WILLIAM J. FLYNN (Assistant National Director, American Junior Red Cross—Youth Chairman): Thank you, Dr. Davis.

I wish that no speaker had ever started his remarks with "It is a pleasure and a privilege to be here," because I want to say that, and I want to say it sincerely. In fact, I am going to say it. It is a pleasure and a privilege to be here on this platform tonight. It is a pleasure because looking out over the audience I see many youthful faces, and it is always a pleasure to talk with youth about what they can do to solve the problems of adults in this troubled world. It is a privilege to be here because I ask you confidentially if you were

requested to select two organizations, two secular organizations in this country, to stand back of you, could you do any better, could you get a greater sense of security and serenity than by having the National Education Association and the United States Department of Justice standing back of you? I think that is a privilege. There is no question about it.

Several years ago at the National Conference on Social Work in Atlantic City the Reverend Charles Bermingham said the following words, and I want to quote them to you. He said:

> Those agencies and institutions which enjoy respect and esteem in American life must prudently and progressively provide opportunities for more dynamic and realistic youth expression. Abandoning some of their safeguards and privileges, these educational, religious, and social institutions must exhibit a confidence in the rank and file of American young people to the end that the leadership of this group will join with the adult leaders of those agencies in fostering the best interests and widest good for the local, national, and international community in which they live.

That quotation along with several recommendations made at the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth has been read by thousands of youth readers all over the country. I wish I could say that youth participation has grown in leaps and bounds because of those statements. I cannot say it because I don't think it is true. Leaders of youth organizations are much like some golfers that I know. They talk a good game. They play in the 80's in the locker room in the clubhouse, but they very seldom break 100 on the fairways.

Fortunately, the National Conference on Citizenship has always given a proper place to youth in its program. I say that, and I think that you can back it up by what you have seen today. Leaders in youth organizations exhibited today in the various workshops saw that youth participated. I say that they participated on an equal basis. They were treated as adults. That is a question that is debatable. Some people say it is impossible to have youth participate on an equal basis with adults because of three good reasons: First, they haven't maturity. Second, they haven't stability. Third, they haven't the experience.

You people in the audience who have taken fundamental first year algebra or any mathematics at all know that there is such a thing as an equation, that to have an equality you must have something on the lefthand side of the equation equal to whatever is on the righthand side. So already you say that youth has three minuses: Experience, stability, and maturity. I say that adults have minuses too, and they might be apathy, indifference, lethargy.

But then let's look away from the negative side. You know from your mathematics that on one side you have positive and negative, and sometimes an unknown, and on the other side a similar combination. So let's look at the five grand pluses of the youth, namely vitality, exuberance, enthusiasm, sincerity, frankness, and lack of sophistication in a philosophical sense. Then I think you will realize you have a genuine, a real equality which should not be passively recognized but actively encouraged.

You leaders of youth organizations in the audience should pay heed to the example set in this conference by giving youth an opportunity to participate. In the next few minutes, I hope, you will have the opportunity of listening to this panel. They represent a cross-section of this country. In their names we don't have a Tom, Dick and Harry, but we have a Jim, Dick, and Jerry. I might say that this group was not picked willy-nilly. We asked some 40 youth organizations to send in applications. We screened these applications, and we have tried to get a cross-section of the country. You will note that we have three girls and three boys. Although there are more women in this country than men, we evened that out. We do have someone from a rural section, I believe Burns Flat, Oklahoma, which is a town of 300. We have other representatives from large metropolitan areas.

(The participants in the panel entered the room.) (Applause)

MR. FLYNN: I just said about you fine boys and girls that you are just average; you are normal. You are no better than anybody else in any other youth organization in the country. So you people out there who are leaders in youth organizations or school teachers, these people are not exceptional. You have members just like them in your organization. All I can say is, please use them.

Now it gives me very great pleasure to introduce our moderator. She came to radio from the stage where she was known here and abroad for her folk song recitals. She soon became known as the song and story lady, and in her long career has appeared on all the major networks. She has traveled extensively and has made a study of children's radio programs in a number of European countries. Watching the constant indoctrination of youth in totalitarian countries, she became a crusader for democracy and has pledged herself to see that our children shall be given an understanding of democracy and a realization that it is a way of life that offers unique freedoms enjoyed by few national groups today. This fervor stimulated her Youth Forums and has taken shape in her book, "You and Democracy," which she hopes will give children an abiding faith and fervor for democracy.

It gives me great pleasure to turn this meeting over to our moderator, Dorothy Gordon of the *New York Times*.

New York Times Forum
Officials Introduce Program

ANNOUNCER: The *New York Times* Youth Forum.

At this time we bring you a special forum in which youth and young adults exchange ideas on vital issues. The program is being presented as part of the National Conference on Citizenship sponsored by the Department of Justice and the National Education Association. It comes from the Presidential Room of the Statler Hotel in Washington.

The members of the forum have been selected from different areas of the country in order to have a representative cross-section of American youth.

The Honorable W. Averell Harriman, special assistant to the President of the United States, will act as adult guest to discuss with the youth "What is a Citizen's Responsibility in a Democracy?"

Dorothy Gordon, moderator of youth forums for the *New York Times*, and author of "You and Democracy," presides at this forum. And now, here is Miss Gordon. (Applause)

MISS GORDON: Good evening, everybody. This is Dorothy Gordon speaking from the Presidential Room of the Statler Hotel in Washington, where the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship is being held, sponsored by the Department of Justice and the National Education Association. The large audience represents more than 700 leading national organizations which make up our democratic way of life. The six members of the panel are a true cross-section of American youth. With us is an adult guest whom I will introduce in a moment but first we will ask the panel members to introduce themselves.

Participants Are from Many
Areas of Country and Thought

MR. WILSON: I am Richard Wilson, 23 years of age, from California, Pennsylvania. I am attending Temple University and am representing the Boy Scouts of America.

MISS ALEXANDER: I am Joy Alexander. I am 17 years old. I am from Burns Flat, Oklahoma. I am representing the 4-H clubs and the high school students.

MR. RICHARDS: I am Gerald Richards from Elmira, New York. I am 17 years old. I represent the National YMCA and the high school students of Elmira Academy.

MISS JAMES: I am Claudette James, 15 years old, high school junior representing the Future Homemakers of America. I am from Forsythe, Georgia.

MR. ROBINSON: I am Jim Robinson, a student at George Washington University here in Washington. Like another member of the panel, I, too, come from the state of Oklahoma. I have been nominated by the American Legion.

MISS COLEMAN: I am Mary Coleman, 22 years of age. I come from Baltimore, Maryland. I work for a labor union, and I am representing the United World Federalists.

MISS GORDON: As you see, we really have a true cross-section of youth and young adults. Our guest is a citizen not only of this country but of the world. He has a rich background of service in the national as well as the international field. As a roving ambassador for the Economic Corporation Administration, Mr. Harriman saw the Marshall Plan in action and witnessed the effects of economic stabilization on wartorn countries and what it does to raise the morale of the peoples. Mr. Harriman, as you all know, was Ambassador to Russia and watched the Soviet Union in operation during and after the war. He knows about life in a totalitarian state, and because of his knowledge he has dedicated himself to the cause of preserving democracy, with profound conviction that it must endure.

I take great pleasure in presenting the Special Assistant to the President of the United States, The Honorable W. Averell Harriman. Mr. Harriman. (Applause)

MR. HARRIMAN: Miss Gordon, I am very happy to be back on the program with you and these boys and girls here. I expect to learn a whole lot tonight. The subject is one of intense importance because what we are faced with in the world is whether democracy can survive against the threat of totalitarianism. So I have come to learn and I think it is a high privilege for me to be here.

MISS GORDON: I am sure, Mr. Harriman, you will give us a great deal. The topic as we worded it is, "What is the Citizen's Responsibility in a Democracy?" I thought that perhaps we might start the discussion by asking our panel members to define the word "citizenship." What do you mean by the word "citizenship"?

MR. RICHARDS: Looking at it from the technical sense we could go into Webster's dictionary which states that a citizen is an inhabitant of a town or city, especially one who enjoys its privileges.

MISS GORDON: Yes, Claudette.

MISS JAMES: A citizen has been defined as one who owes allegiance to a government and expects protection from that government. From this definition we see that citizens have a responsibility to their government, for a democracy assumes that citizens support it or it cannot survive.

MISS GORDON: You don't entirely agree with Mr. Webster, do you, that being a citizen is just having the privileges in a democracy?

MR. ROBINSON: I think it can be summed up, Miss Gordon, that citizenship is privileges on the one hand and responsibilities on the other.

MISS GORDON: It is a combination of them both.

MR. ROBINSON: Yes.

MISS GORDON: All right, Mary.

MISS COLEMAN: I think that citizenship is more than just privileges and responsibilities in a political sense and formal sense. It is also everyday living in a democracy, translating our democratic principles into our social and economic life as well as our political.

MISS GORDON: We speak of privileges and responsibilities. What would you say are the privileges or the rights of a citizen in a democracy? Dick, did you raise your hand?

MR. WILSON: I was just going to say, Isn't a citizen one who exchanges responsibilities for rights and loyalty for liberty?

MISS GORDON: Yes, Joy?

MISS ALEXANDER: I think that Dick has a very good idea there. With every right that we have goes an obligation. Are we to live up to these obligations and accept our responsibilities? Otherwise, I don't think our nation will be able to progress in the future.

MISS GORDON: You all speak very glibly and very nicely and in very beautiful terms about what you think a citizen is and what are a citizen's rights. Mr. Harriman, do you want to come in at this moment?

MR. HARRIMAN: I think it has been pretty well summed up. The word is used in other connections in the Soviet Union. A Soviet citizen is a person who is under the domination of the State. Soviet citizens are not allowed to leave their country unless they are given permission, and very few of them are. They are pretty much told what they shall do from the time they are youngsters until the time they die. So it is a question of how each country interprets that word. I certainly agree with the interpretation that has been given by the panel.

MISS GORDON: Yes. That is why I go back again to what is the right of a citizen in a democracy, because we are discussing the responsibility of a citizen in a democracy.

MR. ROBINSON: What you are asking is: What is a citizen? What does the young citizen owe to his democracy or his country?

MISS GORDON: No. I want to find out what is the right of every citizen in a democracy. What do you think is the right?

MR. WILSON: I think I would say the right of a citizen in a democracy is to participate in that democracy and in the government, in the community, and on a state-wide and a national basis.

MISS GORDON: All right, Joy.

MISS ALEXANDER: We have a right to participate, and I think that right comes in with another responsibility. When you ask someone what is the responsibility of a citizen I think the first thing to be said is to vote. But that action requires clear thinking before it can be a good action. So I think one of our responsibilities is to think as well as to act.

MISS GORDON: Then where does your thinking come from?

MISS ALEXANDER: We should form our own opinions and not be afraid to disagree with some of our leaders. We are already grateful to have that opportunity in contrast to the communists that Mr. Harriman told us about.

MISS GORDON: Claudette?

MISS JAMES: I think it is the right of every citizen to receive the benefits of a democracy on an equal basis.

MISS GORDON: Yes. As a matter of fact, I think that that is what I wanted to hear, didn't you, Mr. Harriman?

MR. HARRIMAN: Very much so. Equal privileges and equal responsibilities to all citizens.

MR. ROBINSON: I want to ask Joy a question. She says one responsibility is to vote. In most states one can't vote until he is 21. In concrete terms of these personalities here, those of us who are younger than 21, what is our responsibility?

MISS ALEXANDER: I think it is the responsibility of each of us to live as a good citizen, to be a good example, and to participate in activities such as these, so when that day comes when the rest of us will be able to vote—

I think we have a few on the panel who are voting—we will be able to be responsible citizens.

MISS GORDON: Where does your responsibility come from? Where do you get your ideas of citizenship, your ideals of citizenship?

MISS COLEMAN: I thought perhaps we didn't fully cover our rights that we have in democracy. In the Western civilization we have built up more and more rights until today we have a wonderful roster of rights pretty well demonstrated by our Constitution and its interpretation. First and most basic is our freedom, our right of free thought, right of free assembly, and right of free press. Then in the last few hundred years we have been adding new rights, the right to a job which is guaranteed perhaps in our kind of society by the right of workers to organize and enjoy union efforts and privileges, the right to decent housing, the right to enough money to live a good life so that you can participate in democratic processes. I think those are rights from which come our responsibilities.

MR. ROBINSON: Mary, how are these rights going to be achieved? Does society owe them to members of society and if so, just how does it dedicate and hand down these rights to society?

MISS COLEMAN: In this country we have our Constitution which guarantees them and through our courts we interpret them. We also have—and I think this is important—organizations outside of the political organizations which can guarantee and continue our rights, because if you don't have someone fighting for you, it doesn't matter what is down on paper. We guarantee our rights by sticking together and working for them.

MISS GORDON: Do you think all citizens in the United States of America are receiving those rights that you enumerate so well?

MISS COLEMAN: No place is perfect. I think that we receive them better than any totalitarian country like Spain or Russia today. I think, however, there is a long way to improvement yet, and the best thing about this country is that we still have freedom of assembly, free press, and free speech, and we can continue to criticize and improve it.

MR. HARRIMAN: May I ask a question?

MISS GORDON: Yes.

MR. HARRIMAN: I suppose I am kind of old-fashioned. I fully agree that a citizen has certain rights, but what is it that the citizen does which justifies that long list of rights? What are the obligations that he assumes or she assumes to participate?

MR. WILSON: One obligation that we must all assume I think is to speak truthfully and frankly about the way we feel. It is often so easy, particularly when we get involved in political activities and political doings, to be subjective in our thinking and to feel the way a certain man does because he belongs to a certain political party. I think we have to be objective in our thinking and our speaking and say exactly what we feel, no matter what our party thinks or says.

MISS GORDON: Yes, Jerry?

MR. RICHARDS: I would like to further my opinion and what Dick said here. I would say it would be a real duty of a citizen to learn to live in civic and national opportunities and to take these opportunities and learn to live with all types of people and exercise a moral obligation to see that all types, races, creeds and religions, all receive an equal chance in such a democracy as we idealistically are striving for and which we must reach.

MISS GORDON: When you are doing that you become a responsible citizen, is that it?

MR. RICHARDS: That is the idea, yes.

MISS GORDON: Yes, Jim?

MR. ROBINSON: All well and good with this idea, but let's put it into practice. How do you make it work? What are the means of achieving this goal?

MR. RICHARDS: It is up to the young citizen of today to study the party platforms, the problems before him, and to form his own opinion so that he may actively participate in the debates and the various organizations that can alleviate these circumstances.

MISS GORDON: Let's get down to basic things for a moment. I want to ask you two questions. One is, I hear so many young people say, "I don't owe anything to society. I didn't ask to be born. You brought me into the world, and society owes me everything." How do you young people feel about that?

MISS ALEXANDER: I have heard a few young people who have just graduated from high school say, "What's the use of going to college?" but I don't think that is representative of the majority of young people. I think the emphasis falls on what we can do for others more than what others can do for us in the majority.

MR. WILSON: I think society owes us something. I think it owes us the opportunity to do something, to participate in community activities and community planning. Then I think we owe to society the responsibility of carrying out these things that it has given us to do.

MISS GORDON: Do you think that the various factors of the community are operating enough to develop responsible citizenship?

MR. ROBINSON: I don't know. I could answer only in part for Washington, and for Blackwell, Oklahoma, perhaps with some particularity. I think that is an individual matter. I just don't think it could be answered on a nation-wide scale.

MISS GORDON: What are the factors in the community that are supposed to promote citizenship?

MR. ROBINSON: The church, the home, the school, the civic clubs. As I say, I can answer for one community, but not for the nation.

MISS GORDON: How do you feel about that, Claudette?

MISS JAMES: I agree with James. I think the church, the school, and the parents and teachers all have a responsibility for teaching the people ideals of good citizenship.

MISS GORDON: Are they doing it?

MISS JAMES: I can speak for but one place, and that is the South.

MR. HARRIMAN: May I ask a question?

MISS GORDON: Yes, Mr. Harriman.

Who Improves Our Society And How? Mr. Harriman Asks

MR. HARRIMAN: I agree with all these obligations on the idealistic side and on the practical side of making better citizens. But what about the obligations to society as a whole? What about the economic obligations? After all, we all have to eat, and we have to have something over our heads, and we want to have a chance to get around the country.

MISS ALEXANDER: I think society and the whole people should create the opportunity for people to help themselves in the community.

MISS COLEMAN: What is your question, Mr. Harriman?

MR. HARRIMAN: What is the economic obligation of the individual to society?

MISS COLEMAN: You are suggesting if someone inherits enough money and doesn't have to work, should he go ahead and work?

MR. HARRIMAN: I am not suggesting anything. (Laughter) You know, we all have to eat. There are certain things one inherits from one's father such as a roof over one's head. We all have to eat and we all have to get on and raise . . .

MISS GORDON: A family.

MR. HARRIMAN: . . . a family and perhaps make things a little better than they were before. Just what is the obligation to produce that each citizen has?

MISS COLEMAN: That depends upon the social system under which you work. If you work as we do in America, under our system where we have private enterprise, I would suppose you would say that it is the obligation of the capitalist or the private enterprise person to provide enough jobs and try to keep up full employment in our society, and therefore the worker by his very economic nature will have to find a job. However, we discover that society does not provide full employment, that society does not prevent depression. Perhaps we will have to re-examine its economic basis and see if we can't find some better way of working out our problems and some better way of giving everybody a chance to work and a chance to better himself.

MR. ROBINSON: What do you suggest? Mary, what means do you suggest? What alternatives are there?

MISS COLEMAN: Well, I think that there are a lot of improvements that need to be made.

MR. ROBINSON: What improvements?

MISS COLEMAN: Partly through the political and partly through the economic.

MR. ROBINSON: How through political and economic?

MISS COLEMAN: For example, I think it is quite often in this country the kind of profit that has been made in the last five years by the 19 big businesses that make billions of dollars of profit while I see every day, in my union organizing, families in need. In one family which was in need a man and a woman and four children were all living in one room with two double beds. There is something wrong with a system where one person in Baltimore can have a big home with three cars and two chauffeurs and other persons in the same city can't go to college.

MISS GORDON: You believe this condition should be bettered. How are conditions bettered in our society? I think that is what Mr. Harriman means in his question. Where does the responsibility lie to improve our society? Isn't that the question, Mr. Harriman?

MR. HARRIMAN: Exactly. What is the economic obligation?

MR. ROBINSON: Miss Gordon, I think Mary may very well be on the right track, but I think she is tending to lead us astray. She has adopted one very extreme example of one family in Baltimore that owns three automobiles. I ask, has any government the right to determine or regulate the margin of utility of that certain second or third car? Would she dispose absolutely of entrepreneurs in this country's economic system and suggest that their property be expropriated? She has adopted one very extreme example. Certainly there are other examples equally fair.

MISS GORDON: Come on, Mary. Do you want to come back on that?

MISS COLEMAN: In a country such as ours where we have, first, a high standard of living, and, second, a democratic political system, and, third, a modern industrial society developed to such extent, with all the benefits of our modern society, I don't think there is any excuse for any child not having a chance even to go to college, and certainly for not having a chance to live in a home where he gets three square meals a day, a chance to go to school, and so forth. I am posing the problem. We have these wonderful benefits. We have one of the greatest societies and civilizations that has ever come into existence in the whole world, and yet we still have these problems. We must not avoid them. We must face the problems that there are plenty of children, particularly in the South, plenty of children who don't even get a decent education, much less a chance for a good high school or college education. They don't get really enough to eat once they get beyond the age of 12 or 14 and private charity stops taking care of them.

MISS GORDON: How are these conditions going to be improved in a democracy? Who does it?

MISS COLEMAN: That is the beauty of our system. We have a democratic system. Thereby we can improve it both through the government and through private organizations. I personally would favor leaving the government out of most of it and letting us work out our problems in our own way.

MISS GORDON: Mr. Harriman?

MR. HARRIMAN: I think you are basically right, Mary. That is only one part of the problem, and you see it. I wish there were more young people your age who had the same feeling, because then many of these conditions which still exist in this country would be corrected. I do believe that you ought to look at the other side of it and analyze what has created this great productive power in this country. After all, the American people can outproduce other countries two or three or six or ten to one. Something has

happened in this country. Don't overlook that in trying to gain the still further objective which we all have before us. I am very happy to hear you say the things that you do. But before you make up your mind what kind of changes should be in our society or what kind of things should be developed, do some analyzing as to what it was that created that great productive capacity of our country which has brought more benefits to more people than any other country.

MISS GORDON: That goes back to the basic principles of our democracy and the relations of citizens to the responsibility of the community and the various factors of the community. Do you young people feel that you have been prepared for responsible citizenship and that all the young people of this country, or, shall we say, the majority of them, have been?

MR. WILSON: I was going to go to the schools as one example. I think the schools are potentially a great force in developing our future citizens. Frankly they are falling down on their job to a great extent. In the first place, I feel the forces we have for citizenship and allied fields in high school and college are not coordinated at all to the end that there is continuity between the courses and that we actually progress and are thinking toward active citizenship later. I don't think that all of our teachers are looking ahead —looking to the fact that some day soon we are going to become citizens, that we are going to have the responsibility of taking upon our shoulders this great country, this great government, and that to do this we must have a lot of training, we must have attitudes, ideals, and experiences.

MISS GORDON: Can other factors in the community coordinate and supplement perhaps some of the things you do not get in high school?

MISS ALEXANDER: Since I am the 4-H club representative, we do supplement the training which is received in the schools, in the church and home, and work together cooperatively. It is democracy in action. I think that we are receiving training in citizenship from the practical standpoint so that we will be able to put it into use right now and in the future too.

MISS GORDON: You know, Joy, you hit a very important thing. The 4-H clubs—and the boys of course are also members of the 4-H clubs—are the rural and the farm end of it, aren't they? What about woman's place as a citizen and woman's place in our society? What do the young gentlemen or the young women have to say? All right, Jerry.

MR. RICHARDS: I would like to bring out that in New York State the League of Women Voters is becoming very powerful in the state itself.

MR. ROBINSON: What do you mean by "powerful," Jerry?

MR. RICHARDS: It is taking an active part, and a very good part, I would say, in bringing to the fore the needs for the youth in New York State. For example, youth did participate in a political school that was carried on last summer. The League has been bringing up various speakers and various organizational opportunities for the youth of New York State.

MISS GORDON: Wait a moment. You have strayed away from my question, which was: What is the woman's place as a citizen in the community? Why is it the boys are taking up this question?

MR. WILSON: I think a woman has a great deal of responsibility, perhaps even more so than a man, and that you women here in the audience have a responsibility. Younger children are more under your influence than they are under that of their fathers. Therefore if you have the right ideas of citizenship, the right attitudes, and are able to give training to the children, it can mean a lot to them in the future. Therefore, the woman's place is a very active one indeed.

MISS GORDON: Here is a representative of the Homemakers of America. Claudette, come on.

MISS JAMES: Dick said something about the teachers being responsible for this problem of citizenship. I know that we are receiving training in citizenship in various organizations, but I would like to say that parents and other people are also supposed to teach us the ideals of citizenship.

MISS GORDON: You get it from the various factors. You feel that in learning how to live together with people you have to have all organizations, all community activities come into it—is that it?

Mr. Harriman, I want to ask you a question. Do you feel that the present emergency requires a re-examination of the functions and duties of citizenship?

MR. HARRIMAN: Yes, I do. I think it requires a greater responsibility today than at any time in perhaps our history, because we are engaged in an ideological struggle which really does threaten our survival. I am convinced that we will meet it, but it requires a degree of effort, a degree of sacrifice without a tangible objective. In war there is a tangible objective, but today our objective is to strengthen our country to cooperate with other countries, to learn how to work together with other free countries, to exercise patience and understanding with other people. This responsibility has come to us because we are the strongest nation in the world, and we must give that leadership.

So I do believe today the young people who are growing up have to learn not only to be good citizens of their own community, of their own country, but to learn to be good citizens of the world.

MISS GORDON: How do you young people feel about that, extending your responsibility of citizenship from your community to the nation and to the world. Jim?

MR. ROBINSON: I wanted to ask Mr. Harriman a question. I am in full accord with him as to the enormity of the present crisis. But hasn't every emergency, Mr. Harriman, that this country has ever faced been one that has caused a re-examination of our basic tenets? And when we talk so much in terms of the great sacrifice that we are going to be required to deliver to the country, don't you think—perhaps in these terms of fear, which essentially is the short-range motive—we are barking up the wrong alley?

MR. HARRIMAN: I didn't understand. Barking up the wrong alley in what?

MR. ROBINSON: I agree we are going to have to sacrifice, but to dwell on it continually, as sometimes has been done, don't you think that is the wrong approach?

MR. HARRIMAN: I would like nothing better than to have everybody assume responsibility, but until the argument about General MacArthur came along, relaxation was the order of the day, in my opinion, in the United States. In December last, the government was being criticized for not doing enough, and then in two or three months everybody was wondering whether it was all worth while. I don't know how else in a democracy you can get people to take responsibility than by the responsible people talking about the real issue.

MR. ROBINSON: That is my whole point. I agree with you entirely. It is the fear that we were trying to put into the hearts and minds of the American people after Korea, that troubles me. It was the same fear after the second communist assault. It is the same fear we are trying to drive home after the MacArthur crisis. I say fear is a short-range motive. . . . That is why there is a relaxation—because it produces fear instead of something else.

MR. HARRIMAN: Fear is the least desirable emotion to arouse. It seems to me the job that is ahead of this generation is to build the free world so it can be impervious to attack, so that it can by its example end tyranny—a development that I believe it is within our power to achieve if we are wise—and lead to a peaceful world. That is a positive objective which we can take,

and be thrilled at living, and pass something on to the next generation, which no generation has ever been able to do before.

MR. ROBINSON: I think that is a great statement. I am in full accord with that. I don't want Mr. Harriman to think I am disagreeing with him.

Audience Comes into Discussion With Varied Pertinent Questions

MISS GORDON: You said that was a great statement, and I wanted it heard. I think we are going to bring our audience into the discussion with us now, with a question from the floor.

FROM THE FLOOR: My name is Wilbert Petty. I represent the Kelly Wood Chapter of the FTA of Howard University. My question is directed to the panel. Today there is much indiscriminate labeling of organizations and persons as being "Red." What can be done to protect innocent persons who are accused of communist connections?

MISS COLEMAN: I think there are perhaps two major areas that can do this. The first one is represented largely by the teachers. In our educational system if we teach the basic structure of political democracy, if we teach the distinctions, then people will not fall into this hysterical attitude. Second, I think our press is largely responsible for some of the hysteria and indiscriminate labeling. I think they should assume a more responsible attitude toward trying to bring us calmness and reason. I have complete faith in democracy that if we have calmness and reason there will be no more trouble along this line.

MR. HARRIMAN: Of course, needless to say I am against all forms of communist subversion in this country. But I am appalled that the necessity for that question which we must all face exists in this country—at the idea that our civilians in this country should be terrified and subject to attack in such a way that people have to ask a question like that. In our democracy every one should have a fair trial. None should be guilty by association. Everybody has a right to go around to meetings and be inquisitive about what is going on. I don't think it is necessary to stamp out communism in this country by adopting totalitarian methods, namely, guilt by suspicion, guilt by association. Let's get that out of this country. (Applause)

MISS GORDON: Another question from the floor.

FROM THE FLOOR: My name is Richard Kennan. I am with the NEA Defense Commission and I would like to ask these young people if they think the other states should follow the example of Georgia in showing faith in the political maturity of young people by giving them the vote at 18?

MR. WILSON: Definitely so. I think that once a student gets out of high school there is a certain gap between that time and the time that he has an opportunity to vote. If we can get our young people voting when they are 18 and still in high school where the teachers have an opportunity to inspire them with ideals of proper citizenship, then I think we are going to have a lot more active participating citizens later.

MISS GORDON: You come from Georgia, don't you, Claudette? How do you feel about the age in your state?

MISS JAMES: I am very much in favor of this because I think if a boy is able to go into the Army at 18 he should be able to vote at 18. (Applause)

MISS COLEMAN: I would like to say no taxation without representation. (Laughter)

MISS GORDON: We have another question.

MR. HARRIMAN: Can I say I am for the young people voting because I am sure more of them turn out. What is bad in our country is that only about 50 percent of the people entitled to vote come to the polls.

MISS GORDON: But wouldn't it be important that those who turn out know how to vote, and perhaps that is the important question, isn't it, Mr. Harriman?

MR. HARRIMAN: I think that is what is happening with the young people of this country today.

MISS GORDON: A question from the floor.

FROM THE FLOOR: I am Norma LeBlond, from Hartford, Connecticut. I am representing 10,000 teachers of the State who are members of the Connecticut Education Association. I should like to ask the panel, how do you think citizenship can be better taught in the schools today?

MISS GORDON: We will take Joy.

MISS ALEXANDER: I think that every teacher is a teacher of citizenship, and I think one of the best ways that she can be a teacher of citizenship is by living the role of being a good citizen, by being an example that her pupils can follow. (Applause)

MR. RICHARDS: There is another point you could bring up with the teacher. The teacher can further the student's idea of citizenship by encouraging him to participate in school activities as well as encouraging him to participate in outside political activities.

MISS GORDON: Further questions?

FROM THE FLOOR: I am Carol Maley. I am representing American church youth. I would like to ask the opinion of the panel on one of the questions that has confronted the delegates of the conference, and that is: To what extent should we force our own conception and pattern of democracy and our own patriotism upon the people of other countries?

MR. RICHARDS: I think that could be answered pretty much by the UNESCO program. UNESCO is doing a very fine job on this question. I would say it would depend very much on the education standpoint. Ignorance is no excuse. I would say educate the people and let them form their own opinions.

MR. HARRIMAN: We don't want to adopt the methods of the Kremlin, do we, and impose our system on anybody. We don't want satellites around the world. What we want to do is to give people a chance to lead the kind of lives and organize their own affairs as they wish. (Applause)

MISS GORDON: Do you think, Mr. Harriman, that people would choose freedom if they had the opportunity to be free and the benefits of a true democracy that really works?

MR. HARRIMAN: If they can eat, they will choose to eat first. That is what is so important about the Point Four program, which all the American people, I think, support, to try to develop a world expanding economy where everybody can at least get a minimum life. Then you have a chance for freedom to thrive.

FROM THE FLOOR: I am Bill Warner, official delegate of the Boy Scouts of America, and adviser to the Future Teachers of America delegation. In what different ways could you help young people as they reach the age of 21 to accept their responsibilities as citizens to the fullest extent possible?

MISS GORDON: How can you help other young people to accept and assume the responsibilities of citizenship?

MR. ROBINSON: That means there is going to have to be cooperation between young people and adults. That means, I think, there is going to have to be a cooperative school program that brings you into the activities of that school. Local communities can not simply run activities with the adults alone. There must be cooperation.

FROM THE FLOOR: My name is Dolores Weaver, and I am a junior at Armstrong High School, Washington, D. C. I would like to ask the panel: Don't you think if our parents have been thinking wrong they should admit to us young people that they have been thinking in the wrong way?

MISS GORDON: We have the question.

MR. RICHARDS: I think it is up to the high school students of today to listen to their parents, but to formulate their own opinions. (Laughter)

FROM THE FLOOR: I am Mary Botley, representing the Federation of Citizens Associations of the District of Columbia. Sometimes I have been considered a second-class citizen because we don't have the vote here. I want to ask these young people of the panel whether they think it is their responsibility when they can vote to help us to get one also?

MISS GORDON: James, you are in Washington. We will take you.

MR. ROBINSON: Yes, but I am a citizen of Oklahoma, and I must confess that some of the people of Oklahoma do not feel the way this lady does.

MISS GORDON: The question was, would you, as you develop into voting citizens, help them get the vote?

MR. ROBINSON: I can't answer that. I don't know.

MISS COLEMAN: I would, for one, anyway.

FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to ask the panel, since they have placed so much emphasis on the place of education, how they would account for the apathy of the American people toward education. As Dr. Carr said this morning, there is a wholesale exodus of teachers from our schools for economic reasons. Since this problem was recognized in the first and second world wars, why are we closing our eyes to it now?

MISS GORDON: I am sorry, we can't take that because we are coming to the end of our program, and I would like to ask Mr. Harriman if perhaps he will say something before we have to go off the air.

MR. HARRIMAN: I have been very much stimulated tonight by this talk. Our generation has made lots of mistakes. But I think you young people have an inheritance, and I can tell from this discussion that vigorous youth are going to carry on, and more power to them.

MISS GORDON: Thank you very much. I hate to have this program interrupted, but our time is up.

For the National Conference on Citizenship of the Department of Justice and the National Education Association, and for the *New York Times*, I thank our guest, Mr. W. Averell Harriman, and the panel. I think that all of you will agree they gave us many important things to think about. Our appreciation also goes out to Station WOL in Washington and the Liberty Network for their cooperation in this broadcast. If all citizens will recognize their responsibilities and their functions in a democracy, we will certainly have no need to fear the future. This is Dorothy Gordon saying goodbye. (Applause)

THE LUNCHEON SESSION

Friday Afternoon, May 18, 1951

Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service Presides

The meeting convened at 1:45 o'clock p. m. The HONORABLE ARGYLE R. MACKEY (commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice) presiding, introduced Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, minister of the Washington Hebrew Congregation, who delivered the invocation.

RABBI GERSTENFELD:

O Thou who art the peace of the world,
Save our generation from the terrors of violence that cometh by night and the arrows of hatred that flieth by day,
From the pestilence that walketh in darkness and its destruction that wasteth at noonday.

O Thou who hast been our refuge and our fortress thru the ages—our altar of devotion,
Light our lives with Thy sacred fire and our hearts with Thy flame
So that with strength of spirit and courage of purpose we will strive towards a world bringing life and light and peace unto the children of men.

Guide us in our deliberations
So that thru our labor we bring nearer the sacred day when peace shall be to him who is far and to him who is near,
And the world shall be filled with the knowledge of Thee even as the waters cover the sea. Amen.

CHAIRMAN MACKEY: Ladies and gentlemen: It is indeed an honor and a privilege to take part in this magnificent National Conference on Citizenship. This gathering is genuinely a cross-section of America here, with representatives of organizations and agencies covering every good aspect of American life and reaching almost the entire population of America come together in a spirit of unity and with, as sole objective, the good of our country and the peace and happiness of all mankind.

If there is any person in the National Conference on Citizenship who might be deemed indispensable it is the lovely and keen-thinking lady who

has done such an admirable job during these recent years in presenting the thumbnail reports of the discussion groups. It is a pleasure to present to you now Dr. Ruth Cunningham, associate professor, Teachers College, Columbia University. (Applause)

Thumbnail Reporter Summarizes Responsibility for Freedom at Home

DR. RUTH CUNNINGHAM: Ladies and Gentlemen of the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship:

This is the second report from you to you, telling of our work in our 22 discussion groups. This morning we were discussing a citizen's responsibility for freedom at home. These are some of the things we have been saying to each other.

Our vote is the way we tell our government what we think should be done. Our vote is the voice of all of us, and we are the people, the citizens.

A citizen should make up his own mind and vote, to be sure, but he should respect the right of the other fellow to make up his mind for himself; and we as citizens don't try to persuade him but to help him decide for himself.

There is little advantage in getting people out to vote if they don't vote intelligently. Maybe in the past we have put too much emphasis on the mere mechanics of voting. Maybe we need to give more attention to helping people to think.

Moreover, we need to recognize that laws don't make a thing so. A law is merely a statement of intention. We can't *legislate* freedom for individuals or groups. There is no substitute for character, honesty, decency, and that is what freedom is all about.

We had several things to say about politics, politicians, and political action. One group suggests that maybe we have come to think of statesmen as dead politicians. Another group says, Politics is never bad, although there are bad politicians. Good people—and I guess that means us—can control politics if we find out how. For example, in the primaries maybe we had better get into ward politics, all of us, and that means *you* and *you* and all of us.

One group feels that political parties are failing us as citizens and that this is a basic failure of democracy. But let's not blame; let's do something. Let's get into action. Unless we take our part in politics, it is we who are failing the party, and our society.

Special groups were sometimes mentioned—for example, teachers. Is it possible that the "sheep-like" quality of teachers tends to hold them back

from economic and political security? The teachers are too often good little soldiers who obey for public good, but fail at times to assert themselves against exploitation.

Another group says, Actual first-hand experience in civic and community activities is essential for all teachers.

Another group says, We as citizens must make certain that people who are interested in correcting the defects of our democratic society never feel that they should apologize for their activities. After all, they are the people who are going to make a difference.

We must learn that what we value, we have to fight to get and to hold. Maybe a good fight now and then is a good measure of a growing freedom.

Not all of the way is clear, but of this we may be sure: It is important for organizations represented at this conference to exemplify in their own programs the freedom they purport to believe in.

A basic factor in maintaining freedom at home, according to most of our groups, is communication. As one group puts it, knowledge is strength, and the citizen needs knowledge of the alternatives to democracy. That statement has a punch: The citizen needs knowledge of the *alternatives*.

The fear to speak out on controversial issues seems to be growing, says one group. This should be and can be corrected, and it can be corrected best at the local community level by encouraging the full presentation of all sides of issues.

The higher the quality of education of the people, the more you can let people "shoot off" in speeches and the press, one group says. The more inferior the quality of education of the people, the more dangerous it is to let them read and hear what rabblerousers say.

The right of freedom of speech doesn't give free access to all speakers in all situations, says another group. For example, speakers in schools should be selected on the basis of their ability to contribute to the school program and should typify the best in democratic citizenship. In the selection of speakers for school groups, the superintendent of schools, board members, and others should consult with an advisory group of citizens.

One group says, The responsibility for freedom at home includes improving media for molding public opinion—improving the press, radio, and television —and, through education, improving the quality of public demand. I think our panel this afternoon will have much more to say about that.

One group suggests that there is an undesirable trend in all media of mass communication toward sensationalism, confusion, and deliberate misrepresentation. This leads to debasement of morals and interferes with reasoned judgment. This sets a poor example for the young and obscures facts from the people. I am sure our panel again will have much to say.

It is suggested that people in the mass media keep their ears attuned to the "ground-swell" of public opinion.

We are all aware of the significance of education in developing freedom at home. Group after group said much the same thing but in differing words. One of the reasons for lack of success in many efforts to teach citizenship is that the work doesn't go beyond the verbal stage. It remains "book learning," and book learning isn't enough.

A fundamental weakness in citizenship training is the unrealistic nature of the school instruction. This instruction has been highly verbal and has failed to employ activities which *demonstrate* good citizenship without preaching about it. Education in citizenship cannot be taught except by the process of participation. Real citizenship can come only by the actual experience of the individual, not through a type of education which consists of telling the right answers.

Schools often are prone to attempt to teach children how to live in a future society. They should teach boys and girls how to live in today's world.

Freedom to learn implies that we encourage schools to deal with controversial issues so that children get experience in solving problems.

We know we still have some problem areas over and beyond those we have already talked about. One group said, We suffer from the disease of "they-ism." We think that other people are responsible, not we, and we think of the government, unfortunately, as "they," not we.

Another group says, Freedom means more than security. It implies continual vigilance; possibly it implies the need to live dangerously.

The responsibility for freedom at home includes attacking and eradicating segregation and discrimination against minority groups in our own local communities and in the local organizations in which we work.

A little different attack, one group suggests: We need to give careful consideration to the problem of guilt by association and accusation without proof.

A constructive suggestion by one group: Let's not spend our time looking for communists under our beds and thus end up on the couch in a psychiatrist's office. Let's use our energies constructively.

Some of us asked whether freedom means the same thing in Bangor, Maine, as it does in Miami, Florida. Does it mean the same thing across the tracks as it does in Plush Heights? Should it? Does it? Can it?

We said it in many ways, but maybe this is the gist of it: "These people are citizens, too—Jews, millionaires, Negroes, people who work in Wall Street, women, people who are foreign-born, Catholics, people who don't have much money, management, labor, Protestants, white-collar workers, people who don't think the way I do, people who don't like the things and

ideas that I like—in short, people who are different." But, come to think of it, that is all of us. All of us are the citizens at home. The rights, the responsibilities, the freedoms of each and all of us are at stake. We, *all* of us, must work toward a better understanding of ourselves; we, all of us, must try to understand ourselves better, to understand each other better, if we are to achieve freedom in our world, freedom today and tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN MACKEY: Thank you, Dr. Cunningham.

Our speaker today has contributed much toward the building of a better America. He early began his distinguished career of public service when he received an award from the Junior Chamber of Commerce as "the most outstanding young citizen." He attended the University of Tennessee where he received his Bachelor of Arts degree. From there he went to Yale University where he received his LL.B. I am told that while he attended the University of Tennessee he was quite a football player and that he was chosen for the All-American team. After serving his state as Commissioner of Finance, he was elected to the lower House of Congress. With a notable record in that body, he was elevated by the people of Tennessee to the United States Senate. His record in the upper House has been a brilliant one indeed, especially in focusing attention on the crime situation of our country. But I believe the noted Senator strikes a most forceful blow for good American citizenship when he stresses that the ills of democracy can best be cured through the development of our basic human resources, the promotion of the physical, educational, and spiritual well-being of our people. It is indeed unfortunate that the Senator must leave right after his address here this afternoon. I am extremely happy to present to you at this time the United States Senator from the great State of Tennessee, the Honorable Estes Kefauver.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

The Citizens are Responsible, Says Senator Estes Kefauver

THE HONORABLE ESTES KEFAUVER (United States Senator from Tennessee): Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: Of course I am very grateful to Mr. Mackey for all of the unusually complimentary things he said about me, but if I should select one that I particularly appreciate it would be his statement that I had made the All-American football team when I attended the University of Tennessee some six or eight years ago. (Laughter) I think I should tell you the truth about my prowess as an All-American football player because it might really be an inspiration to some of

you young people who are considering embarking upon a life of politics. As a matter of fact, back when I attended the University of Tennessee we did have some very great teams under Major Bob Neyland, General Neyland, as you know, but I didn't have the good fortune to be on the first team. I was what is well known as a bench warmer, and only when we got into the fourth quarter against some particularly weak opponent did I have an opportunity of playing at all. But in 1938 I ran for the State Senate in Tennessee, from Chattanooga, and my managers didn't have any issues to talk about so they promoted me to the first string of the University of Tennessee football team. That campaign platform worked well, so well in fact that when I started to run for the House of Representatives two years later, lo and behold, I had not only gotten on the first team but I had made the All Southern Conference as one of the best tackles the University of Tennessee had ever had. Then about two and a half years ago when I ran for the United States Senate—and some of you may remember that campaign—I found that much to my surprise, and I didn't particularly repudiate the statement, I was not only on the first team and an All Southern Conference tackle, but Grantland Rice had put me on his All-American. (Laughter) So if any of you have poor abilities as athletes and you feel called to public life and would like to enter the field, you never can tell what it will do for you.

The thing that impresses me about this Conference on Citizenship is that while so many conferences on citizenship use vague generalities and the speakers talk in glowing terms that one may soon forget when he goes back home, in this conference—it seems to me, from your program and from the distinguished guests who will follow on the panel afterwards, and from what I have read about it in the paper—you do really translate the ideas into a program of action. And that, after all, is the thing that counts.

But if anyone of you has not had a definite course of action in which you could turn your local communities, I wish that you could have been with our Senate Committee during the last year when we went from one part of the nation to the other in the investigation of organized crime in interstate commerce and its political connections. We saw in all parts of the nation the criminals and the gangsters and their political counterparts. No group of people, including members of the staff, some of whom are here today, saw a better picture of the causes and the results of crime, of the terrible and devastating effect it is having not only upon our moral life, but, equally important, upon our political life and upon the economic life of our people.

I feel that, after all of our visits in the various parts of the country, perhaps Governor Adlai Stevenson summed up what we found and the causes about as well as anyone has. During our meeting in Chicago I asked Governor Stevenson, who has a splendid record of public service and is a man of great

intelligence, to what he attributed corruption and crime and bad conditions which we found in some parts of the State of Illinois. He said there were five things. First, bribery of public officials. Second, improper campaign contributions, which amounts to about the same thing. Third, that many law enforcement staffs are not properly equipped. They are underpaid. And the same goes for the staffs of prosecuting attorneys in various parts of the country. Fourth, a lot of good people in various communities just didn't know what was going on in the places where they lived. He said the fifth reason is public indifference or public apathy, that you could mark out all of the first four and just leave the fifth and you would have the entire and complete picture.

I think that is quite accurate. We found that to be the situation all over the United States. It doesn't speak well for the great American people, because actually there isn't anything wrong in the hearts and the minds of the mass of American people. It is just simply that we have too much public indifference and public apathy.

Ladies and gentlemen, as has been stated and as I know the Attorney General has told you so well, the passage of laws may be important. There are some loopholes that we ought to plug in our federal statutes. We need to pass more federal laws to try to block the operation in interstate commerce of criminals and gangsters in the country. Many state laws need to be revised, and many constitutional amendments in some of the states need to be passed.

But the passing of all the laws in the world is not going to do anything very substantial toward eliminating crime and the influence of gangsters or toward making America a cleaner and a better place in which to live. The final result and the final necessity is an aroused public opinion, interest by the citizens at the local level. If we have that interest, then laws are naturally going to come and the criminal cannot operate.

So to these people who say, "Let Pennsylvania Avenue or the Department of Justice do the job," and pass on all the responsibility to Washington, while we have our responsibility and while we have been making some effort —and I do not think we have fully met our responsibility in the final analysis —I say conditions will be just as good as the people back home want them to be.

We hear a great deal about Abraham Lincoln's statement of a government of the people and for the people, but too often I think that we forget the third prerequisite for a great democratic government, and that is by the people. We have been forgetting that in connection with our war against the cartel of crime which exists on too great a scale in the United States.

I wish to make it clear also in the beginning that this is not a partisan matter in any sense of the word. Crime is not partisan. Criminal conditions

cannot exist and a criminal cannot operate in a big way unless he has some kind of political protection or acquiescence. And the criminal doesn't care whether he gets it from a Democrat or a Republican or Socialist or Communist. I have always had a feeling that whenever there is a condition where crime is on the increase and is threatening the economic and political life of our country, it doesn't make so much difference about how that came to pass. The important thing is that the government in power in the city or the county or the state or the federal government has the responsibility of doing something about it with all the force at the command of those governments, and if that is done, then that government is going to receive its just acclaim from a grateful people.

I should like to go back to Governor Stevenson's diagnosis that public apathy is the most important deficiency of the American people in the effort to rid the country of gangs and gangsters. I think that public apathy shows itself first in the fact that the good people of the country are not taking the lead in seeing that people vote. After all, in the last election I think only 50 percent of those eligible to vote in America actually voted. It is only through the exercise of our right of the ballot, to go to the ballot box, the exercise of the citizen's sovereign right to vote that we have any way of managing our government or of running our government. You can be quite certain that the criminal and the racketeer who is looking for protection, who must have at least the acquiescence of the law in order to operate, gets his people out and he uses his influence and his money to see that candidates are elected who are going to be kind to him. But too often in too many places in the United States the good people stay away from the polls even though they may be 90 percent in the majority, and they let a small 3 or 4 percent literally take over and control the government. Particularly is this true in communities.

It was very shocking to us as we went from coast to coast to find that in some places of the United States local governments had actually been practically taken over by the criminal element. The public officials felt they owed their election to the money and the influence of the racketeers, that they had to have it, and that they couldn't be reelected if they went against their wishes. They called it a liberal policy; in other words, a wide open criminal town. Here were 95 percent of the good people sitting back, not voting, and letting the 5 percent get away with it. We had officials tell us, "Unless I adopted a liberal policy, I wouldn't have any chance of being reelected." You hear a great many people, preachers, educators, say, "What are you going to do about it?" Asked if they voted, "Oh, well, we didn't pay much attention to that."

So that is the first thing I think we are going to have to start to do all over the country in our effort against criminal conditions that we have found.

The American people—and this is where you can play a great part—do not follow through as we ought to with our public officials. You may be certain that the gangster and the criminal is unrelenting in the exercise of pressure and influence upon people that he may have some connection with or may have some control over. But too many Americans, if they do vote, forget about the public official. They do not advise with him constructively. When officials stand up for the good of the masses of the people there is no encouragement very frequently from the good citizens. Public officials not only need to be able to rely upon you; they need to be backed up by you after they have been elected.

I am certain that any member of the Congress will tell you the same thing. When we do something right, we never have any letters from anybody back home telling us about it. But let us stub a toe or do a little something that offends some pressure group and they come in by basketloads—telegrams, letters, protests, visitations to Washington. Sometimes we get the idea that these special interest people are really speaking for the people back home.

That is one thing that has encouraged me about the formation of crime committees throughout the country. There have been some 35 or 40 created during the last year. Not only are they going to keep the spotlight of public attention upon officials to see that they enforce the law, but they are, as they should, going to back up honest officials, and in that way we are going to have good government.

There is another impression that I got from our trips about the country that I wish to mention very briefly, and that is that there isn't a great deal that we can do about most of the criminals that we had before us. They have been living a life of crime, many of them so long that they are hardened in their way. We must enforce the law and block their operations and put them in jail when they commit some offense, but in so far as reforming and giving them a new lease on life, there isn't a great deal that can be done.

You may remember that Senator Tobey in very vociferous and touching language lectured practically every gangster we had before us. He brought tears to the eyes of Frank Erickson but I don't think he converted Frank Erickson. (Laughter) As a matter of fact, I think the only real conversion we had, and this may not have been actually a conversion, was Sheriff "Lower the Boom" Clancy from Jefferson Parish, Louisiana. I do not mean to put him in exactly the criminal class. The sheriff was one of those fellows who felt that he couldn't carry on as sheriff unless he had a wide open town, including the Club Forest and Beverly Club and many of the largest and most profitable casinos in the country. But when we were in New Orleans

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Many people contribute to the conference—plan its functions, operate its mechanics, philosophize and deliberate in its panels and discussions. Upper left: *Participants in the youth program—Miss Claudette James, Forsythe, Georgia; Mr. Richard Wilson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Mr. James Arthur Robinson, Washington, D. C.; Miss Mary L. Coleman, Baltimore, Maryland; Mr. Gerald Richards, Elmira, New York; and (seated) Miss Joy Alexander, Burns Flat, Oklahoma; Miss Dorothy Gordon, moderator of the youth forum; and Mr. William J. Flynn, youth chairman.* Upper right*: *Members of the mass media panel debate the responsibility of press and radio for good citizenship—Mr. Elmer Davis, ABC commentator; Mrs. Ruth Montgomery,* New York Daily News; *Mr. Theodore Granik, director, American Forum of the air; Mrs. Agnes Meyer,* The Washington Post; *Mr. Charles Collinwood, White House correspondent for the CBS News.* Center left: *Members of the Group Discussion Leader Training Team confer—Dr. Ruth Cunningham, Dr. Stanley E. Dimond, Mr. John T. Cheney.* Center right: *The Honorable Justin Miller, chairman of the Attorney General's Citizenship Committee, speaks at a conference session.* Lower: *Nine of the members of the 16-member Department of Justice and National Education Association Joint Conference Committee deliberate on conference plans—Miss Carolyn Just, Miss Emma Mae Brotze, the Honorable Carl B. Hyatt, Dr. Ruth Cunningham, Dr. Stanley E. Dimond, Mrs. George R. Ellison, the Honorable Robert Anderson, Mr. Tom Clear, Mr. Evan E. Evans.*

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Upper: *More than 60 organizations are represented in the Planning Committee that chose the theme and planned the pattern of the conference.* Center left: *Members of one of the 22 working groups of the conference deep in a discussion.* Center right: *Mr. Leo M. Cadison, Department of Justice, member of the Conference Executive Committee, at the mass media luncheon.* Lower left*: *Members of the youth panel chat with Presidential Adviser W. Averell Harriman—Mr. Gerald Richards, Elmira, New York; Miss Mary L. Coleman, Baltimore, Maryland; Mr. Richard Wilson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Miss Claudette James, Forsythe, Georgia.* Lower right: *Members of the Department of Justice and NEA staffs join forces to register delegates: Bobbie Pridgen, Elinor Miner, Frances Smith, Constance Jones, Dorothy Morford, Mary Elizabeth Jameson, Mary Josephine Matecki, Evelyn Young, Patricia Braker, Fern Hicks.*

the good people came around and asked what we could do. Some of our staff suggested—Downey Rice and Pat Kiley, who are over here today from our staff—"If you will go out and make enough noise and show that the majority of the people are on your side, you are likely to get a different result." Sheriff Clancy at first wouldn't testify because he was afraid that his testimony might not only intimidate him but incriminate him. Imagine sheriffs having to take that attitude. He did come on back to Washington, and when Senator Tobey got after him, he said, "You know, I am going to shut up every place in Jefferson Parish this afternoon by telephone." He called on the telephone and closed them all up just like that. I saw him in Washington a few days ago and he said, "You know, the good people down there have gotten behind me, all the preachers, and I am going to be reelected sheriff without opposition."

It is really too bad that the criminals we saw cannot be rehabilitated, that so many have gone into a life of crime, because it is a great loss to society. Many of them are unusually intelligent and capable. I know that Willie Moretti when he was testifying said, "If I hadn't gotten into bad company and gotten arrested that first time I might have been where you are, a United States Senator." Actually I think that is true. He is a very smart, capable man, as most of these people are.

Then it is too bad also because it is such a tremendous burden upon the good people to try to keep them from operations in which the public of course always pays the bill economically, morally, and politically. We cannot do anything about many of these hardened criminals. Even though many of them would give everything they have if things could be different, even though they have found that the life they have carried on is really not a very wholesome one for them and their families, they have gone so far that it is hard to change.

I think it is important for you who are considering good citizenship to consider just a minute what it is that brought on this group of criminals in the country, what it is that is going to bring on another group ten years from now unless we do something about it. We asked various and sundry ones all over the country, "How did you get this way? What took place? What started you into a life of crime?" The answer isn't easy. It is a culmination of many different circumstances and little parts of their lives, but usually the answer can be found in about eight or ten situations. One is lack of activity in the church. Another is "I didn't have an opportunity to get an education so I could earn an honest living. The school wouldn't take me in."

Some of them had bad health conditions so that they didn't have the same chance as normal children. Some of their conditions of health could have

been remedied if only we had had an alert citizenry around them. Other times it was, "I didn't have any playground to get wholesome recreation." And let me tell you that a recent survey in Chicago showed that a slum area had 20 times as much criminal activity as a section with wholesome recreational activities.

The others of course are poverty or hunger and broken homes. Many of them said, "It just didn't seem like anybody cared what happened to me." There was no association, no group, no good citizen who took an interest in the child, and he went on his way and made a bad start.

I think the operation of our juvenile courts and our juvenile laws in putting a record on a first offender as a child has caused a good many of these people to feel, "Well, my record has been made, and I may as well go on."

These things are important not from what we can do about those who have passed on. There isn't a great deal we can do. But, ladies and gentlemen, we can arouse ourselves to see that the young people of today, who, after all, will be the citizens ten years from now and will build a society in which we must necessarily live, do not find themselves confronted with all the conditions that led others to be steered into a life of crime.

I think that we should pass any of these laws that we can, but I want to reiterate that if you go to a city where there are good schools and churches and recreational facilities, interest in children, and people making a fair living and no slum areas, you are not going to find very much crime. If you go to a city where kids are playing in the mud puddles and living in slum conditions, the schools are down and the churches are not taking very much interest, then you have a hotbed of criminal activity.

We talk about organized crime. There can't be any organized crime unless there is local crime. It is going to take years to do something about it. I know this cause that you are dedicated to. I can think of no better way that you can translate your interest in citizenship than in giving the children of tomorrow an opportunity. They were not born to be criminals. If they do follow that kind of life, some happening in their life starts them that way.

I think it was Woodrow Wilson who said very aptly that in America it is the things that we do not know that cause us all of our difficulties, that if the American people know the facts there isn't any situation they cannot adequately cope with. So I think that when we know the facts about crime in the country, we know our responsibilities as citizens. If we can get the message over to the people everywhere and get them to do something about it, then we are going to have a better and a cleaner America.

We all have a duty in this connection. I think that all of you by your presence here will agree that the best way to discharge that duty is not by

talking about it only, but by doing something about it. Mr. Emerson wrote—and his little verse might be apt here:

So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, "Thou must,"
The youth replies, "I can!" (Applause)

What About Press and Radio In This Changing World?

CHAIRMAN MACKEY: Thank you very much, Senator Kefauver.

Now we have come, ladies and gentlemen, to a most novel and important panel, "The Role of the Press and Radio in this Changing World." Freedom of the channels of communication, unshackled by public or private forces, is essential to the preservation of or the attainment of freedom. This was recognized by our founding fathers. In the parlance of newsdom, the program that follows reminds one of the story of a man biting a dog. Instead of the newsmen asking the questions of the delegates, the delegates are going to ask the questions of the newsmen and women, who have so graciously consented to be the victims of this ordeal. The discussion will be moderated by the founder 23 years ago of the National Broadcasting Company's American Forum of the Air, the oldest forum in America, an outstanding example of the free exchange of ideas.

On May 7 last he was given the much coveted Michel Award presented by the Academy of Radio and Television Arts and Sciences. He is also a District of Columbia attorney and formerly was a prosecuting attorney for the State of New York. I take great pleasure now in presenting to you Mr. Theodore Granik, who will tell you more about the program and introduce the participants.

Right here we are honored with the presence of Dr. Earnest O. Melby, Dean of Education of New York University, honorary chairman of the First National Conference on Citizenship and honorary sponsor of this, the Sixth Conference on Citizenship. I do not see Dr. Hobart Corning, the superintendent of schools of the District of Columbia, here; but I do see Mr. Norman J. Nelson, the first assistant superintendent of the public schools of the District of Columbia. He is over at table 31. Stand up, will you, Mr. Nelson. (Applause)

I will now turn the proceedings over to Mr. Granik.

Mr. Granik Poses Questions To a Distinguished Panel

MR. GRANIK: In a democracy, free people proudly take an active interest in their government. Political issues of the day are debated in the Congress, in the schools, and in the homes, over the morning newspaper and the second cup of coffee. You and I and all the free peoples of the world depend on the press to outline these vital issues. To define what we mean by the press we must include all mass media: newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and motion pictures. In dictatorial governments, all of these media become tools of the state, but in a great democracy such as ours, they help to familiarize us with the problems confronting our daily lives so that we may discuss all sides of all issues among ourselves, and then form our own opinions and act accordingly.

The recent investigations of the Senate Crime Committee uncovered many instances of organized crime. Had it not been for our freedom of the press, the average American would not know of the great work of the committee nor of its vast accomplishments. Such freedom has ceased to exist in the Soviet Union and her satellites. There the press does not report both sides of controversial issues. There these issues are not discussed and debated intelligently by the man in the street. Thus, when freedom of the press disappears, so also does the individual lose freedom of speech and freedom of thought. There the people through lack of information must restrict their discussion and beliefs to the distortions which appear in the subverted press.

What of our own free American press? Has it helped or hindered our cherished liberties in the past decade? Are our citizens getting enough information to form sound judgments? We pose these and related questions to our distinguished panel today: Mr. Charles Collingwood, White House Correspondent for CBS News and the Columbia Broadcasting System; Mr. Elmer Davis, nationally known ABC commentator, former director of the OWI; Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, reporter on social problems for the *Washington Post*, distinguished wife of the chairman of the board of the *Post;* Mrs. Ruth Montgomery, Washington correspondent for the *New York Daily News* and president of the Women's National Press Club.

Now before opening the discussion I want to remind all of you in the audience that this is your program. We want you to participate with questions from the floor. After about 15 minutes of panel discussion we will be ready for your questions, so please jot them down, raise your hand when the question period begins, and a walking mike will be brought to your side.

Mrs. Meyer, would you care to open the discussion by commenting on Senator Kefauver's remarks? That is a big order.

MRS. MEYER: It is. I assure you when he finished speaking I had a very bad conscience because I think this matter that he brought up of the apathy and the indifference of the American people is a very profound problem. I really think that some of these high-powered social scientists who talk so much about our problems ought to do a real job of research on this profound problem.

But I would like to defend the American people to a certain extent as far as this apathy is concerned, Mr. Chairman, because I, as you know, have been around the country a great deal and I found that our society has been so shattered by two world wars and a depression that people are isolated. They feel isolated. Families have moved around so much that they don't know where they belong. They are isolated in our big urban cities, and as a result they think that the individual no longer counts and that personal efforts such as voting are futile. I think it is this isolation of the people that we must overcome by a reorganization of community services, especially centered to the schools.

After all, Senator Kefauver revealed that the criminal elements are efficiently organized from one end of the country to the other, which is shameful. Why aren't there even more powerful citizens' organizations in this country to protect the nation from these criminals? Why aren't there more organizations that are working for the common good? In other words, these criminal elements exist because we let them exist. I think this discussion will be worth while and your whole meeting here will be worth while if you will face that one question. What are we going to do about it?

MR. GRANIK: Let me ask Mrs. Montgomery, What are we going to do about it? Are our citizens getting complete enough information to form sound judgments?

MRS. MONTGOMERY: Ted, I think perhaps along the Atlantic Seaboard they are. Certainly Washington and New York papers do an exceedingly thorough job of coverage of national and international news. But I always am a little appalled when I go out to visit my relatives in the Middle West and when I travel around in the South and in lesser sized communities, to discover how little of the actual national and international news they are getting. The whole front page is usually about some local crime that has been committed. Too many editors, I think, believe that old saw that we learned in journalism school that the man next door is far more interested in the man who tripped his toe in front of his house and sprained his ankle than he is about what the Senate is doing in Washington.

MR. GRANIK: Mr. Collingwood?

MR. COLLINGWOOD: I agree with both Mrs. Montgomery and Mrs. Meyer, but I would like to translate it, if I can, to some of the particular problems that I face in radio and television. Mrs. Meyer was talking about the apathy of the public. Mrs. Montgomery was talking about the fact that real news is difficult to get. This morning I was looking at the text of President Truman's talk to you people here yesterday. He started ad libbing at one of the many places and he said, "Citizens should understand the facts." We heard a lot about facts here today. Wilson was quoted by Senator Kefauver that if the people had the facts, then all would be well. The President said, "You know, the hardest thing in the world to find is a real fact." In spite of his estimate of rarity of fact, I don't think that they are really quite so hard to find as you might think. Facts are presented. The problem is to get people to listen to them, which once more is this question of public apathy.

You know an awful lot of nonsense is talked about radio commentators who are forced off the air because of their unpopular views. Most of the time radio commentators and others are forced off the air because people have stopped listening to them. The real problem in terms of news and mass communication, which we are supposed to be talking about here, as I see it, is the same problem that Senator Kefauver is talking about, public apathy. By and large, most people in this country would rather listen to someone who distorts and falsifies and misrepresents facts than to listen to people who try the laborious task of making facts interesting and important to them.

News of the gathering was broadcast by the Voice of America in some 40 foreign languages, and reporters from eight Baltic and Balkan language desks attended the conference to record interviews with delegates. Reading in each case left to right: Upper left*: *Polish women get together before the broadcast—Irena Grabowska, Polish desk, IBD/NY, who has been in the U. S. for nine years; Bernice Lewandowski.* Upper right*: *Mrs. Lubov Drashewska of the Voice of America, New York, interviews Marvin Gretchen, Ukranian Congress Committee; Mrs. Helen F. D. Lototska, president, Ukranian National Women's League; Konstantin Warwariw, Self-Reliance; Theodore Mynyk, supreme recording secretary, Ukranian Workingmen's Association.* Center*: *John Hogan, State Department, Voice of America, briefs Paul Dargis, Dr. M. J. Vinikas, Miss Euphrosine Mikuzis and Joseph F. Maceina, members of the Lithuanian Alliance of America.* Lower left*: *John Hogan, Voice of America, interviews Ilmar Pleer, and John W. Tiedeberg, Estonian Education Society, Inc.* Lower right*: *Joseph Sadlik, Czech desk of Voice of America, New York, interviews Mrs. Marie Holla, recently of Czechoslovakia.*

MR. GRANIK: We all listen to Elmer Davis. Let's see what he has to say about facts.

MR. DAVIS: Are we still on the Kefauver crime issue or on general matters?

MR. GRANIK: On the general matter, are we getting complete enough information to form sound judgments?

MR. DAVIS: If we were still dealing with the question of crime, I am sorry Senator Kefauver has left because Mr. Collingwood and I can tell him much about a town which he did not have the opportunity to visit on his travels, Key West, Florida, where these problems do not arise. Key West is a devout town. Every one goes to church and lives in a state of Adamic innocence in which the definition of crime is extremely uncertain and tenuous. A politician is shot, and it is automatically put down as suicide. A couple of years ago when the Governor of Florida put on his annual crackdown on gambling, which they always do for 48 hours at the season when the customers have gone home, he called up the sheriff in Key West and asked him if there was any roulette in the county, and the sheriff said, "No, sir, I give you my word of honor there is not." And that was correct. It was 8:30 in the morning and the croupiers had just gone to bed.

However, if you want the general issue, I think one of the problems recently has been the enormous volume and complexity of the news, notably in these hearings of the Senate Committees—175,000 words of testimony by MacArthur.

MR. GRANIK: How far is the press responsible for the emotionalism regarding the MacArthur testimony?

MR. DAVIS: Some of the newsmen certainly have whipped it up, but I think a great deal of it perhaps was spontaneous. There is a very singular state of mind in the country which I am unable to analyze, but it was by no means all synthetic. The great problem is, if you want to find out what has been going on, here you have had already half a million words of testimony. To know about this situation, everybody ought to read it all. Nobody has that much time. I haven't read it all. I think I have read 75 percent of it, and a digest of the rest, but I haven't had time to read it all.

CHAIRMAN MACKEY: Do you listen to other commentators?

MR. DAVIS: No, I don't listen to the other commentators. (Laughter) I do my own digesting, but I must say that the average citizen who tries to find out what is going on in the intervals between earning his living must find himself appalled. He can read the headlines, he can read the leads, he can

read the columns. Then he is dependent on the men who write the headlines, the leads and the columns.

MR. GRANIK: Ruth?

MRS. MONTGOMERY: Which one of those do you want me to talk about? It seems that Mr. Davis has covered the waterfront.

MR. GRANIK: We will get away from Key West for the moment. I want to go into the emotionalism of the press, particularly surrounding the MacArthur testimony.

MRS. MONTGOMERY: Of course that word is slightly editorial, to assume that there is emotionalism, because people are of such two minds on the subject. I get an awful lot of letters from women around the Middle West, for instance, who are simply frantic about the whole thing. They say, "General MacArthur has been my hero since the first world war. How could they do this to him?" This was certainly something that was built up before the press reported the facts. I think there has been a lot of emotionalism. But remember when Secretary Acheson kept saying, "Let's wait until the dust settles"—during that time Mao Tse-tung took China. I think the dust is settling. This may be a good way to clear the air now.

MRS. MEYER: I would like to bring up the point that Mr. Davis made about the volume of news with which we are overwhelmed. I think what has just happened is a perfect illustration of it. Let's admit that the Kefauver report was swamped by the fight over foreign affairs. I think what the Kefauver report should do for us is to terrorize us into a recognition that one of our prime responsibilities is the strengthening of the home front. And when it comes to facts, every newspaper can see that a slum is a fact; they can see that bad health is a fact; they can see that inadequate schooling is a fact. And that is what our newspapers must not forget. (Applause)

MR. GRANIK: Let's get back to: Should news commentators listen to other commentators? Would that lead to confusion or greater accuracy? What do you find? I will come back to you on that.

MR. COLLINGWOOD: I listen to Mr. Davis.

MR. GRANIK: I do, too. We all do.

MR. COLLINGWOOD: For profit and enlightenment.

MRS. MEYER: And good sense and calmness.

MR. COLLINGWOOD: Absolutely.

MR. GRANIK: Would you care to comment, Mr. Davis?

MR. DAVIS: I happen to come along so late on weekday evenings there is nobody left to listen to except Ed Murrow, who might be the only one I bother listening to anyway. I listen to Charley Collingwood on Sundays with the utmost edification, but that is about all. There was a time when I was on only three nights a week, and I used to improve my mind on the other evenings by listening to about six in a row, and if I had not been a professional in the news business I would have ended in a state of complete confusion. But I do think everybody ought to listen to more than one.

MR. GRANIK: Do you feel there is too much interpretation of the news rather than straight news reporting? Would you care to comment on that, Charley?

MR. COLLINGWOOD: I would comment on it on the basis of what Elmer Davis said a minute ago when he spoke of the tremendous volume and complexity of the news that confronts us now. Mrs. Meyer brought up the Kefauver Committee report which was swamped; and there is the MacArthur testimony, there is the whole economic stabilization fight, and all the rest of it. As soon as you start selecting news and digesting it you are involved in a process of interpretation, because that is a necessary element in selection. It is inescapable that there be interpretation in news. The question is how that interpretation is done and on what basis. I feel that by and large the American press has conducted itself pretty well in the kinds of interpretation and condensation that it has done. Once again the American press and the American radio are really servants of the people, and they put forward the things that people want to read and listen to. If they want their news hopped up, then it is going to come out hopped up. Once again the real responsibility for the clear, pure stream of news rests not only on people like us who put it out, but on the people who read it and listen to it.

MR. GRANIK: Is there too much hopping up, Ruth?

MRS. MONTGOMERY: I don't know. I am sitting here being a little alarmed by Mrs. Meyer's remark that the Kefauver Committee should terrorize us into doing something, and then everybody clapped. I think she is very right. But on the other hand last week I was here at a meeting of the civilian defense people, and they were trying to get us alarmed and hopped up over atomic bomb attacks and civilian defense. Then they are trying to get us alarmed over Far Eastern policy and what we should do. Now we are supposed to be alarmed about juveniles. It is a very real problem, but I think that Stalin eventually will lick us just by ulcers if we aren't careful.

MR. GRANIK: Mr. Davis?

MR. DAVIS: I agree with Mrs. Montgomery that if we don't think instead of being alarmed, we are done for. I think there is still enough capacity for thought and willingness for thought in the country to pull us through, but a lot of people are certainly doing their best to discourage it.

MRS. MEYER: Mr. Davis, wouldn't you agree that because of the volume of news, the editorial page and all the columnists have a greater responsibility than they ever had because they are supposed to digest the news and analyze it.

MR. GRANIK: Do you think radio stations should have the news editorialized?

MRS. MEYER: Yes, I feel they should analyze the news for the public. In fact, they do. Even Elmer Davis, who is, I think, perhaps the most—no, I won't say that—one of the most objective analysts, is still an analyst, and I think that is his function and I think that is the function of the editorial page. It was never more important than it is now.

MR. DAVIS: That is not a station. That is an individual. Obviously what a network should do and what, so far as I know, they all do is to get people of different political opinions and let each man analyze the news as he sees it and then the network has a balance.

MRS. MONTGOMERY: I would be very much against the station itself editorializing, because there are so few channels. Theoretically you could have 20 newspapers in a town. You don't have to read them and buy them unless you want to, but there are so few channels that I think it would be a dangerous precedent to permit them to editorialize.

MR. GRANIK: CBS?

MR. COLLINGWOOD: Like CBS, I don't think I have ever made up my mind completely on the situation. I think the basic function of radio is to inform, not to convince, and until we do that job better, I am willing to wait for the editorializing. (Applause)

MRS. MEYER: I am willing to concede that, Mr. Chairman. I wasn't making that distinction between the network and the commentator.

MR. GRANIK: Is there any reason to doubt the power of the press? President Truman won an election when his defeat was forecast by every newspaper in the country. Would you care to comment on that, Ruth?

MRS. MONTGOMERY: You are looking at somebody who traveled on the Dewey train all that hot fall.

MR. DAVIS: It is 27 years since I have been connected with the press, so I had better not offer any opinion.

MRS. MONTGOMERY: Does that imply that they were all wrong, Elmer?

MR. DAVIS: I was just as wrong as they were.

MRS. MEYER: We live in a town, sir, that has not a vote, and therefore we are not implicated. (Applause)

MR. GRANIK: Let me ask you this question. Does the advertising dollar restrict the freedom of individual newspapers? That is a tough question.

MRS. MEYER: I am willing to answer it. No, not with any newspaper worthy of the name, and what is more, all this talk about people being able to color the news through advertising was proven wrong only recently, because it was Senator McCarthy who tried to threaten that newspaper—what was the name of it, Elmer?

MR. DAVIS: The *Milwaukee Journal*.

MRS. MEYER: The *Milwaukee Journal*, by saying nobody should advertise in the *Milwaukee Journal*. The *Milwaukee Journal* is still doing fine.

MR. GRANIK: Do you want to comment, Ruth?

MRS. MONTGOMERY: I am thinking about a commentator that Senator McCarthy also took out after, and he lost a sponsor.

MR. DAVIS: Yes.

MRS. MEYER: Again it is a matter of courage. If the press hasn't got courage and if individuals haven't got courage, then you can't do anything anyway.

MR. GRANIK: Let's see if some individuals have courage in the audience to ask some questions. It is time for questions.

Delegates Question About Leadership Exercised by Mass Media Channels

FROM THE FLOOR: I have a question. Much has been said about public apathy here, and I notice the panel has somewhat touched on it, but not the way I would like to see it. Senator Kefauver mentioned it was due mainly to people who do not vote. I feel that the press, television, and radio could do much more to get people to vote. Why don't they do more?

MR. GRANIK: We will start with you, Elmer.

MR. DAVIS: It is no good here in Washington. Congress won't let us vote.

FROM THE FLOOR: We have a lot in this country besides Washington. I live across the river where we can vote, in Arlington, Virginia, and therefore I would like to go beyond the District of Columbia.

MR. GRANIK: A lot of people live across many rivers throughout the country.

MR. DAVIS: I think it is standard procedure at every election. All the newspapers are telling everybody they ought to register and vote. Some do and some don't.

MRS. MONTGOMERY: Certainly no one can deny that newspapers always come forward to the day before election and urge them to go out and vote. But television is so enchanting and entertaining that that keeps the people home so they can't vote.

MRS. MEYER: I personally think that television is the greatest medium that we have for educating people in the duty of public service and voting, too. After all, it can bring Congress or the whole government close to the people. It can make the silly old civics books that we used to have come to life by showing them what really takes place and tempting them to get into public work on a local basis. If they are active then they will vote. But if they are not active and simply feel that the individual is cut off and what he does doesn't matter, they are not going to vote no matter what the press does.

MR. GRANIK: Do you want to take that before I take another question?

MR. COLLINGWOOD: I can only say I think the sources of public apathy are much deeper than anything that radio, television, and newspapers can do. They go a long way farther back, and they aren't going to be cured by the quadrennial gingering-up process that the mass communications media do. It is much deeper.

MR. DAVIS: Just one minor addition. The figures about the vote in national elections are not quite right because we have a great many one-party states, some of them in the North as well as the South, and in those states the vote in the primary is what counts. You add up the vote in the Democratic primary in the Southern States and it will be about ten times as much as the vote in the election.

MRS. MEYER: That is right.

MR. GRANIK: Another question. Go ahead. Do you have a question back there?

FROM THE FLOOR: I believe it was Dr. Cunningham who spoke of the radio and the press as the servants of the people. I wonder if their obligation is merely to be a servant or whether they also have an obligation to shed some light and take the lead.

Nashville Tennessean was subsidized by Insull. Do you think that since that time the American newspapers are so free from prejudice that they won't accept money from the National Manufacturers Association and other interests to educate the public in the reasoning they want them to reason?

MR. GRANIK: I will ask Mrs. Meyer to take that.

MRS. MEYER: I can't think offhand of any paper of which I would say that it could even be suspected of taking money from the National Association of Manufacturers. But on the other hand, the National Association of Manufacturers—no, it is the Committee on Economic Development which has drawn up an economic program of what they think should be taught in schools. I think that may be a very good program—I haven't seen it—but I do think that even a big organization like that should be very careful about its approach to the schools. It should say, "Here is a program. What do you think of it?" I think they are in great danger of being suspected of forcing their program on the schools unless they are careful.

MR. GRANIK: Would you care to comment on that, Ruth?

MRS. MONTGOMERY: I think the newspaper has become such big business in recent years that practically all papers in the country that I know of are owned by very wealthy people. I don't think that they would sell out to a particular group. I only know of one paper in the United States that is subsidized and that is the *Daily Worker* by Stalin.

MR. GRANIK: Another question? Go ahead.

FROM THE FLOOR: I think there has been a lot of talk about apathy and also about crime. This goes mostly to Mr. Davis because I think he is on the same side. I wonder if he wouldn't agree that a great deal of the problem today is not simple apathy but the fact that we have lost a moral sense in our news reporting. I would like to have a discussion of our Far Eastern foreign policy without having Acheson made into a Dreyfus. I don't think it is necessary to be so disobjective in our facts that we have to make it impossible to discuss anything in an objective way without being called a Communist. I think if we could carry over the crime investigation that has been going on to realize that stealing money isn't the only form of perjury, we would be doing a good thing.

MR. GRANIK: Let's take a little part of that.

MR. DAVIS: The gentleman has stated the case very well.

MR. GRANIK: You think he has answered the question as well as asked it.

MRS. MEYER: I would like to add to it, though, that I don't see why you

MR. COLLINGWOOD: If that question were addressed to me, I would say certainly they have an obligation to take the lead. However, the basic principles of American communications media are that they inform. Crusading papers and crusading commentators are all very well, but the basic theory that we work on is that if we get the facts to the people, then they will reach the right conclusions. I think they get the facts to the people about as much as the people are willing to take. And if the people want more facts, then you can be sure that the newspapers and the radio stations and the rest will provide more facts.

MR. GRANIK: Another question.

FROM THE FLOOR: I should like to ask—since we are all agreed that there is a necessity for editorializing, the average person being unable to get at all the just views from publication of news stories alone—in what sense is a strictly partisan channel or newspaper of service to the public? Does it confuse and rattle the public or is there an actual service performed in recognition of certain distinctively partisan papers which are so rated?

MR. GRANIK: Elmer, do you want to take that one?

MR. DAVIS: If you take the publications of the Democratic and Republican committees you know what they represent and you can often read them with some edification on that basis. As for general newspapers, this question between objectivity and editorializing is a matter of walking a tight rope and nobody has ever known the exact answer. Fifty or sixty years ago almost all American papers were very biased. Their news columns reflected the editorial page. There was a very proper reaction to that, which went too far, I think. About 25 or 30 years ago you would see in the papers "Joseph W. Blott said: ". . . and three quarters of a column if he was a man of any importance, with no indication as to whether he knew anything about the subject he was talking about, and no indication as to whether he had some particular interest in getting his side of it over. There was an excessive objectivity. The result is that in recent years there has been a tendency back toward interpretation, but it is awfully easy to lean over on the wrong side that way. I have seen some interpretive reporting which was on the side of my prejudice as well as on the side against my prejudices that was just bad reporting.

MRS. MONTGOMERY: Yes, and of course PM was founded in New York for that very purpose, with the announced intention of interpreting news rather than just reporting it, and it had a very short life as we all remember.

MR. GRANIK: Another question? Go ahead, sir.

FROM THE FLOOR: I have a question here. I remember Luke Lea of the

blame the newspapers. I don't think you can have better newspapers than yo have people. I don't think you can have better politicians than you have people. In other words, there can't be a better public morality than there is a private morality. When you get right down to the basis of all this, we had better look into our private morality in this country. (Applause)

FROM THE FLOOR: I wonder if the people have been so accustomed to reading overbuilding of news that the newspapers have hollered "wolf" to us as to the little boy three times too many times, and we cannot believe that even though civilian defense may be urgent today, it is still as frightening as it is put up by the newspapers.

MR. GRANIK: Do you want to comment on that, Charley?

MR. COLLINGWOOD: I would only comment on that, that I think you are laying the blame at the wrong door. After all, newspapers and radio stations and people like Elmer and myself report what other people say. If there has been too much emphasis placed on scaring people, which I think there has been, then it is not our fault for reporting it so much as it is the fault of those whom we report.

MR. GRANIK: I will take a final question. Go ahead.

FROM THE FLOOR: I would like the facts on the number of Americans killed in the Korean war as well as the number of Red Chinese. Who does the censoring, the reporter or the papers? The Washington papers in the last few days have carried the number of Chinese who were killed in the Korean war—

MR. GRANIK: Who does the censoring, the paper or the reporter? We have a reporter and the wife of a publisher. Maybe we might ask them.

MRS. MEYER: I think Elmer Davis will agree with me that the facts that we get from Korea are what we take.

MR. DAVIS: We take the *statements* we get from Korea. (Laughter) I see this morning that the casualties are 914,783, not 82, not 94, but 83. That is what they tell us from Korea.

MR. GRANIK: I wish we could be here longer.

FROM THE FLOOR: I think we are all agreed that both the major parties see that the vote gets out. Shouldn't there be a greater emphasis in activating the so-called independent voter?

MR. COLLINGWOOD: The question was whether there ought to be a greater emphasis on activating the so-called independent voter. I certainly think there should be; yes.

MR. GRANIK: We are all in accord with that. Thank you very much.

THE CLOSING GENERAL SESSION

Saturday, May 19, 1951

Chairman Presents Guests, Gives Message from Honorary Chairman

The meeting convened at 8:30 o'clock p. m., the Honorable Carl B. Hyatt, director, Attorney General's Citizenship Program, presiding.

CHAIRMAN HYATT: The spiritual blessing upon this meeting will be given by the Reverend Matthew M. Hanley, O. P., Dominican House of Studies, Catholic University of America.

THE REVEREND MATTHEW M. HANLEY, O.P. (Dominican House of Studies, Washington, D. C.):

Almighty and Eternal God, who knowest how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity, we ask Thy blessing on this gathering and pray that men everywhere may live as brothers in harmony and in the freedom of the children of God.

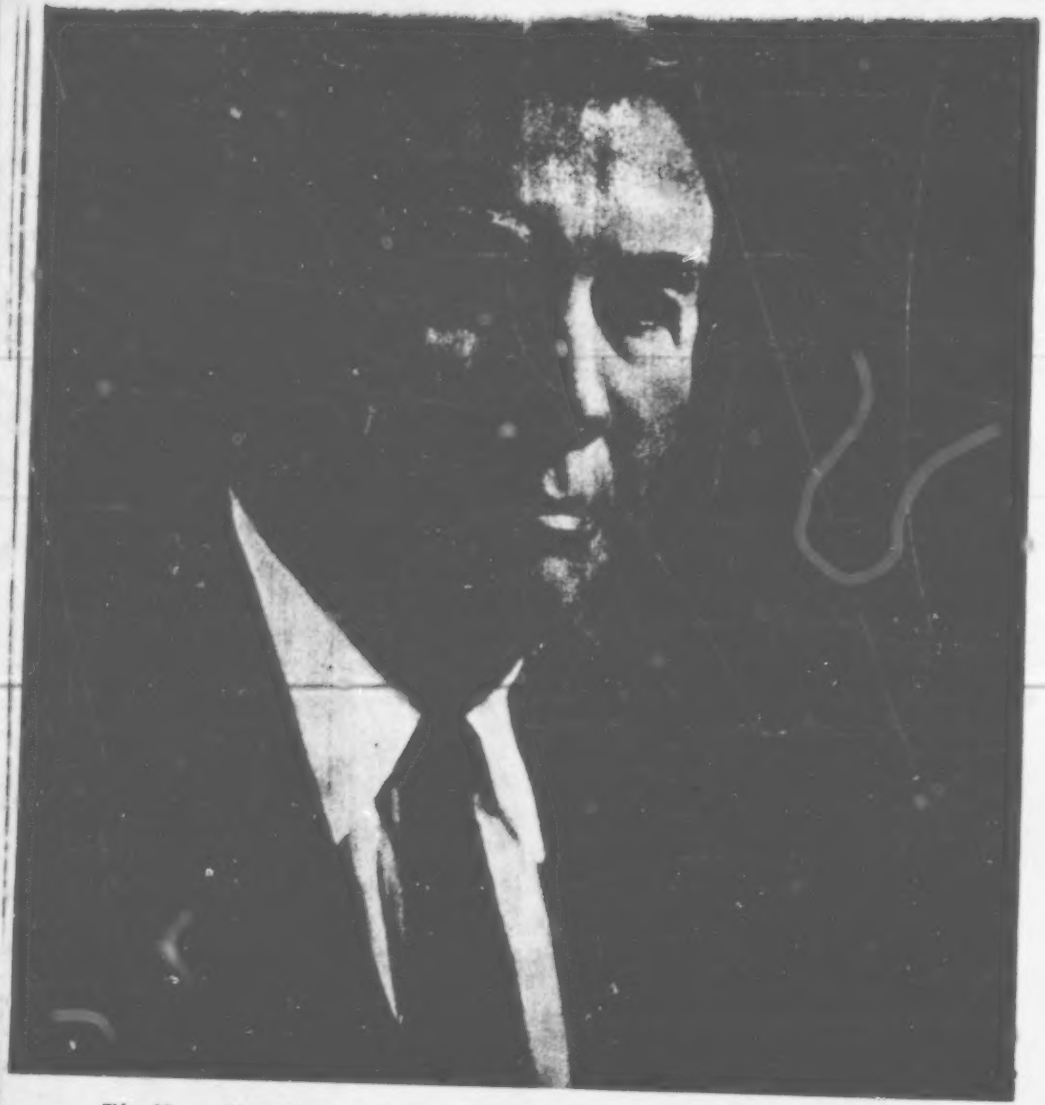
Help us, citizens of this beloved land, to be of one mind in truth and one heart in charity that by our example we may lead the nations of the world to freedom and unity and peace forever. Amen.

(Introduction of guests at head table)

(Introduction of service veteran guests, by the Honorable Watson B. Miller)

CHAIRMAN HYATT: We had hoped to have with us tonight our Honorary Chairman, the wise, genial, and much loved Vice President of the United States. I have just received a letter from him, which I shall now read to you.

> I greatly regret my inability to be present at the National Conference on Citizenship Dinner to be held on Saturday evening. I had looked forward to this occasion with great anticipation, but circumstances beyond my control make it impossible for me to attend.
>
> In these days of national and world conditions, there is nothing more important than the emphasis that we should place upon citizenship and its responsibilities. All of our democracy stems from the rights of individual citizens. It spreads to communities, states, and to the nation, and, in view of our leadership among the free peoples of the world, it extends also to the whole of mankind.
>
> We are all anxious for peace, prosperity and security, and if the peoples of the world could express their hopes, I think an over-



The Honorable Alben W. Barkley, Vice President of the United States, for the Third Year Honorary Chairman of the Conference.

whelming majority of them would want peace and security, without which there can be no real prosperity.

Please extend to all those assembled my sincere good wishes for a profitable occasion, and my profound hope in the ultimate justice of all our efforts in behalf of democratic ideals.

Sincerely yours,

ALBEN W. BARKLEY.

Delegates Receive Neighborly Greetings, Hear Music, View Drama

There are three thousand miles of boundary line between two great countries, Canada and the United States. Along that line is no fortification to shut out peace, friendship, and understanding between their peoples. For the past three days we have had with us a representative of the Canadian Citizenship Council. He had to fly home this morning since the first Canadian Conference on Citizenship begins on Monday at Ottawa. It is being fashioned very much like our own, stressing democratic ideals and the part Canada must play in this world over which the clouds now hang low. He left this message with me:

> It was a great honor and privilege for me to take part in this annual conference on citizenship. I found it very interesting and very stimulating. Being a French-speaking Canadian, I hope you will not mind if I send my greetings and my thanks in "Basic English."
>
> In Canada, we are faced with the same problems that you have in the United States of America. But I can assure you that Canada has the will and is prepared to defend and to save, at any costs, her democratic way of life. With the help of God and in close cooperation with our allies, particularly in close cooperation with our friendly neighbor, we will pave the road for a free world.
>
> I thank you for your warm reception and on the behalf of the Canadian Citizenship Council and in my own name, I offer to the National Conference on Citizenship, to all the delegates, and to the American people, our greetings and our best wishes.
>
> JEAN PIERRE-HOULE
> *Assistant Executive Director, Canadian Citizenship Council.*

MISS CORMA MOWREY: Mr. Chairman, at this time I think that we should like to send to our Canadian neighbors our very good wishes for a most successful citizenship conference, and if it is in order I should like to so move at this time. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN HYATT: It is moved and seconded that we send our warmest greetings and best wishes to the first Canadian Conference on Citizenship. It has not been the policy of this Conference to pass resolutions, but I think it is most timely and most important that we give a rousing vote on this particular motion. All those in favor please make it known by saying "aye." The "ayes" have it. We are to have a special treat tonight, excerpts from "Faith of Our Fathers," the symphonic drama produced by the National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission. The cast will have to leave shortly for a practice session in preparation for their opening night, so I am going to introduce the director of this dramatic production, who will now tell you something about it. Mr. William Vorenberg.

(Introductory remarks by Mr. William Vorenberg)

(Excerpts from "Faith of Our Fathers") (Applause)

CHAIRMAN HYATT: As a North Carolinian, I am proud of Paul Green's production.

Music has always been a part of our conference. I am glad tonight that we are to hear from the Eastern High School Mixed Chorus of which Mr. J. J. Summers is the director and Miss Margaret Hughes is the accompanist.

(Musical entertainment) (Applause)

CHAIRMAN HYATT: Thank you for that wonderful music.

A few days ago I dictated some words about the person I am going to call upon now. I said "She was deemed indispensable." The stenographer had trouble with the word "deemed." She substituted an "a" for the two e's and added an "n." Well, maybe that describes her, the incomparable reporter of this conference, Dr. Cunningham. (Applause)

Third Thumbnail Report
Stresses Responsibility Abroad

DR. RUTH CUNNINGHAM: Ladies and Gentlemen of the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship:

This is the third report from you to you telling of our work in our 22 discussion groups. Yesterday afternoon we continued our discussion of Freedom at Home, and in our sessions today we have been discussing Freedom Abroad.

A very big idea in the consideration of freedom at home had to do with freedom of speech—freedom to speak up for unpopular causes; yes, even

freedom for Communists to speak. We don't need to be afraid to let Communists talk. We are convinced that our democratic way of life is superior to Communism, and their speeches aren't going to persuade us.. Our fear isn't of Communists. We can handle them. Perhaps a greater danger is that we may become mere anti-Communist rather than pro-Americans. Freedom of speech is the very essence of our democratic way. Let's show the Communists that we can practice what we preach.

What we need is an atmosphere of free, clear thinking for the classroom and the public forum, an atmosphere in which knowledge and sound judgment can grow.

The real danger, as one group put it, is the subtle creeping paralysis threatening our freedom of thought and speech. A major cause is in the current unprincipled methods of accusation.

A summing up was given by one group: Although we are fully aware of the need for security, we are deeply concerned that the traditional American philosophy of justice seems to be undergoing a change and that we seem to be moving in the direction of a philosophy of guilt until proved innocent, rather than the assumption of innocence until proved guilty.

During this Conference we have added a new "freedom" to the usual list. We support the "freedom to be different." Freedoms in this country are threatened by a cult of conformity, says one group, a cult of conformity in our pattern of living. Too much fear is paralyzing our freedom of action.

Our basic assumption is that every man everywhere has a basic desire to respect his fellow man. We must respect his differing customs and institutions, respect them provided he is free enough to make his own decisions.

The importance of the individual is the essence of democracy. In that connection one group says: Minority groups don't need or want special concessions. They want an equal chance to develop fully their abilities to serve with others for democratic betterment.

Freedom can be a lonesome thing. It's not easy to stand alone for what we think is important. If freedom is not to be a lonesome thing, it will be because we use our freedom to form teams of like-minded citizens dedicated to a common purpose.

Since threat to anyone's freedom is a threat to everyone's freedom, it is the major responsibility of citizens to come to the defense of everyone's freedom, even if a particular "everybody" is labeled as "different."

Growing out of our thinking in these groups, we have some very special recommendations as to how we might operate to work as teams, as community groups. Here are some things to remember:

Good politics is utilizing the resources of the community for the best interests of its citizens.

A special note for a special problem: Don't stop your work once your candidate is elected. He needs aid and comfort after he is in office as much as, or more than, he needed your help to gain office.

Citizens groups organized to take specific action on community problems would do well to observe the following principles, recommended one group: Make sure that the organization is a cross-section of the community. Work with the duly elected authorities of the community. Gather, discuss, and analyze your facts before you take action.

The organizations represented at this Conference should give some serious thought to ways and means of bringing to the attention of the electorate the critical problems which require that citizens exercise their voting franchise. Suggestions toward this end are: (1) Establishment of community councils. (2) Establishment of legislative councils made up of representatives or delegates of civic agencies.

Let's move now to what we say about *Freedom Abroad*. The international problem isn't something that's abroad, over there, far away. It's not merely on our doorstep. It has walked right into our living rooms and into our kitchens. It's a part of how we live and what we eat, and even our feelings about ourselves and other people. Maybe we had better start by "re-making" ourselves as individuals and groups before we start out to re-make the world.

Perhaps the best way to carry out our citizen responsibility to insure freedom abroad is to put our own house in order through removing the social inequities and discriminations that plague our society.

What we need is not so much a re-examination of our ideals for citizenship, but a re-examination of our current practices. Isn't it possible that there is a gap between our beliefs and our practices? How can we bridge that gap?

What it seems to boil down to is this: Actions speak louder than words. Our democracy must be a democracy of action, with an action program, and our individual way of living is a part of that action.

Let's recognize that people can't talk freedom on an empty stomach. And what's more important, people can't *feel* freedom or *act* freedom on an empty stomach. That's where international affairs step into our kitchens, into our pantries.

As one group puts it: We deplore the delay in answering India's need for grain. In the future we should act quickly to answer the cries of famine-stricken people.

We agree that we should not force our way of life on other peoples. Our opportunity and duty lie in creating a dynamic democratic society.

Here is a thought-provoking statement from one group. I quote: We stand in America for a particular form of government, a democratic form of government, but we won't stand for any special form of economic system. What we

are against is any form of government which advocates the superiority of the state and the submersion of the individual.

Our reports indicate that we recognize the responsibility of citizens of this country for international action. We feel that America, faced with the necessity of world leadership, is perhaps uncertain as to the best method for training leadership. We suggest:

1. The development of good democratic practices at home—on local levels, starting with the individual.
2. That we learn to live democracy rather than merely to talk it.
3. Maybe we had better learn to accentuate the positive.
4. We need to get more people involved in *action* groups for democracy.
5. We need to make better use of the opportunities we have at hand.
6. That we show more concern with the politics that come out of local communities.
7. That we include youth in all our groups.

This is our conviction: Our responsibility for freedom abroad must consciously transcend even an enlightened self-interest.

It was interesting to find in the reports today answers to questions raised by groups yesterday and the day before and reported through these thumbnail reports. Maybe you will recall that one of the questions raised was, "Can we be loyal to the UN as well as to our nation? Should we? Can we? Here are some of the responses.

One group wants to protest a recent cartoon in a local paper which seemed to disparage the UN.

Another group says, Americans should give full support to United States participation in the UN.

Another said, We support the United Nations. This support should go beyond passive acceptance. We need active support to the actions and accomplishments of the UN.

Another said, We believe in the United Nations. We believe that loyalty to the United Nations is *not* inconsistent with our loyalty to our own country.

Over and over again, groups pointed out that international understanding is a two-way street. We need to know other people, but we want to help them to know us. For example, we may say it in terms like these: Instead of offering bread and wine in Asia—and the group was very careful to point out that these were Biblical terms—we might better recognize that local customs call for rice and tea. Rather than telling people about us, we can let people know us by inviting them to be our guests in this country for a sufficient period of time for us to get really acquainted.

It is important to select for work in foreign countries good personalities who are genuinely interested in people and want to work with them, to help them to help themselves within their own cultural framework. For example, we recognize the adverse publicity which the United States gained abroad because of limitations placed upon the rights of Negroes here. To correct this publicity, we recommend that the Negro be given full rights and that many trained, competent Negro citizens have a part in our Point Four activities and in other foreign offices.

The international exchange of students and teachers can help promote a better understanding of inter-personal, international, and intercultural relations. Maybe we had better foster this further.

Maybe the immigration laws should be liberalized to establish equality of admission on the basis of qualification rather than quota.

As we work with people of other countries, let's not assume that the way we are doing things today is necessarily the best way for everybody. Maybe we can learn and develop, too.

Sympathetic understanding rather than tolerance of other nations and their people is essential for developing mutual respect and world peace.

The foreign-born among us are a great opportunity for self-education for all of us. Let's bring these people into our activities and let them contribute their special values to the things we need.

The American life is a process of solving problems. This idea of a continuous process is not being correctly interpreted abroad, perhaps. We tend to give the idea that we have arrived, that we have solved all our problems. We know we haven't. We know we have problems yet to be solved. For example, it is our responsibility to understand the Point Four program, and to interpret it to others, as an effort to help countries to help themselves rather than to impose a political pattern upon them.

Again to sum it up from one group: We think the United States should give direct relief where needed, but long-time emphasis should center around self-help programs as a first step in encouraging freedom.

It is well for us to think broadly about the international responsibilities, but it is well, too, for us to consider our specific responsibilities as individuals. One group says: Citizenship—local, state, national, or international—has to be used and worked at, or else it will wither on the vine.

One group recommends "newcomer" programs. It is suggested that professional groups could help orient displaced persons so there would be less waste of human resources. We should sponsor welcoming projects for war brides. We should foster programs in which newcomers would demonstrate their customs, folklore, native dishes, and so forth—in other words, be given an opportunity to express the rich heritage they have brought to our culture.

We can open our homes to guests from abroad, such as those attending the World Assembly of Youth this summer.

Personal contacts are necessary, says one group, in publicizing American freedom. Americans abroad should demonstrate friendliness, courtesy, and respect for "the freedom to be different" that we were talking about.

School groups can do much to develop understanding through activities such as those sponsored by the Junior Red Cross.

Our organizations might give even more effort to the exchange-of-people idea—exchange teachers, pupils, organization leaders. Maybe we could do more with the idea of town affiliations—a community in the United States affiliating itself with a community abroad.

It is essential, says one group, that we inform ourselves as citizens about conditions abroad to provide a basis for an intelligent public opinion that will support constructive foreign relations.

We should write our Congressmen to extend the Fulbright Act.

And tourists take note. Americans abroad often give our country a bad reputation by being too smug, too unacquainted with other cultures, and too much centered in our own economic interests. The actions and expressed opinions of American tourists abroad are living commentaries; they are salesmen of American philosophy and practices. If they are bad, they may outweigh the good done by economic and armed help abroad. It is suggested that all Americans applying for passports to visit countries abroad be given and required to read—I am not quite sure how we can enforce that—a pamphlet prepared by the State Department, a pamphlet having to do with the country to be visited. These pamphlets should include the "stoplights" of behavior, phrases of courtesy, virtues, and qualities to be admired in the country to be visited.

As we came to the closing of our conference some of us took a look back at our experiences here at the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship. We're all interested in a look back in order to make a better future. Your Conference Committee has this interest at heart. We want to know, honestly, what you think has been accomplished and how it might be bettered another year. At your table you will find an evaluation sheet. We hope that you will be willing to fill this in, if you have not done so before. If you will fill these in and leave them at your places at the table, they will be collected and carefully studied. The Committee will be very appreciative of your help.

Looking back at our conference experience, some have suggested that we have given too much attention to negatives in this conference. But one of our colleagues, a gentleman from the farm state of Iowa, points out that a good farmer goes after the weeds first. Maybe that is what we have been doing.

Many groups expressed the very sincere gratitude we have for our youth

participants. As one group says: Adults are not aware of how far ahead of them many youth really are.

We are told that there is an old Chinese proverb which reads like this: "You cannot carve a good statue out of rotten wood." But no trees and no people are rotten in the beginning.

Sometimes youth may be self-consciously hiding its idealism and altruism behind phrases of selfishness and self-interest, but if we really listen, listen carefully, we will hear the undertones of sincerity and faith that are so badly needed in today's world.

Confidence in youth always pays off. A real test of our confidence in youth comes from the group which recommends that the voting age be lowered to eighteen.

Here is another line of thought. One group says: We are concerned that some participants in this conference are avoiding the work sessions but are prominent in the "glamor" sessions. Perhaps another way of saying this is that people who didn't attend the discussion sessions just don't know what they missed.

Here is a tribute to our ways of working: In the fourth meeting the members of our group had reached such a point of confidence in each other that they could discuss frankly what we were accomplishing, even to the point of questioning whether one's own opinion is better than that of the other fellow.

Another group says: What we take back is not so much information or conclusions as the experience of dealing *together* with important issues through shared thinking. If we have accomplished that, we can feel that our time has been well spent, can't we?

A major strength of this conference has been that it has helped us to realize that developing better citizenship is a job for all of us. Nobody can claim that developing citizenship is its special function or an exclusive right. No one organization can do it alone. No one institution can do it alone. Developing citizenship is a job of the home, the school, the church, the government, and the many organizations of this country. In short, it is a job for each of us, for all citizens.

In closing the conference some of us felt it an opportunity to look ahead to future conferences. We recommend, says one group, that the Conference on Citizenship widen the delegate group to include people from commercial, industrial, and other professional circles. The Conference on Citizenship should encourage closer cooperation between the citizens associations and public agencies. We recommend that the work of the Citizenship Conference be extended throughout the United States through regional or state conferences, with purposes and procedures similar to those of this conference.

A second consideration is this: How can we implement the work of this conference to keep it from being "just another conference"? We have talked a lot about action. How can we put it into action? How can we put into action some of the things we have learned, some of the insights we have gained?

One group says: The trouble with ideals is that their phrasing becomes platitudinous. Let's practice rephrasing ideals in terms of *doing* activities, and do it frequently.

The next job for all of us, for each of us, as follow-up of this conference, is to go home and, in our communities and organizations, try to see that freedom has a real chance.

Our conference has come to the full cycle of realization. It was said at our first session, and it was said again today: Recognizing that our democracy has many problems, we reaffirm our faith in the democratic process of solving our problems. We believe that civic-minded individuals and groups must pool their efforts and work together. This charts our direction as we work for Freedom, Freedom at Home and Abroad, Freedom for Today and Tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN HYATT: Since its beginning in 1946 the National Conference on Citizenship has matured, adding stature to its growth and horizon to its vision. But this development as well as other developments to strengthen citizenship has required the thinking and planning of men and women who looked beyond the bounds of organizations or individual interest. From the many such men and women, a few have been asked to share their thoughts with us tonight.

In 1940 the Alien Registration revealed that there were over five million persons here from other lands who were non-citizens of our country. Hundreds of thousands of those were seeking United States citizenship. Shortly afterwards, a nation-wide plan was proposed to make the court ceremony for the bestowal of citizenship an inspirational occasion. We were in the midst of war, and the president of the Federal Bar Association saw the patriotic significance and service of such a program and gave his wholehearted support to it. It is a pleasure to present him to you now. Mr. Robert N. Anderson. (Applause)

Mr. Anderson Warns That Citizenship Is Seriously Threatened

MR. ROBERT N. ANDERSON: Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, delegates to the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship, ladies and gentlemen: I am indeed happy to speak to you a few minutes on American citizenship. It is our most valuable and precious possession. In no other place on the

globe does citizenship have such meaning as here. Despite differences of creed, race, and opinion, United States citizenship has made us a united family and has brought us together under one flag in the name of liberty.

It is not my purpose tonight to recount to you the wonderful privileges that are inherent in this great possession of ours. Your presence here, coming as you do from every section of the country, the representatives and leaders of hundreds of organizations and agencies, is testimony of your awareness of these great blessings of ours.

I would like to take this opportunity, however, to sound a note of warning. In my opinion the blessings of our citizenship are being seriously threatened at this very moment. A dangerous trend is taking place in this free nation of ours. It is an emotional something that is foreign to our American way of life—intangible and yet as insidious as a dreaded disease. It is a subtle something, a creeping something that paralyzes our free thought and speech. Its roots are imbedded in fear, and it operates as a slow poison in the blood stream of our national life. This indefinite, reprehensible something attempts to cast suspicion upon those holding public office throughout the nation. Lacking in just and constructive criticism, such as fair Americans welcome, this insidious thing undertakes to place in disrepute and dishonor our governmental institutions and those who serve you. It has as its object one thing, and this the destruction of our faith in our nation, our faith in its public officials, and our faith in each other.

Referring to some of the damage that reputedly has already been done, a prominent news commentator just the other day said: "... for some time there has been clear evidence that many of the ablest scientific students are shunting away from atomic or any scientific work for their government; there has been a drop of 25 percent in the number of college seniors applying for career diplomatic work. But this disease of fear has gone much further than that. The campuses are becoming barren of free give-and-take of ideas. Even the generous impulses of youth for the underdog are self-suppressed and fewer and fewer dare speak for simple humanitarian causes."

If this is a clear picture of the situation, and I have no reason to believe that it is not, then this is a serious problem for us to consider in our citizenship groups.

This evil thing—this creator of confusion, this promoter of disunity, this crude mixture of fear and suspicion—that seeks to fasten its talons upon the very soul of our national life could have its inception in no other source than the vicious ideology that currently threatens the destruction of the peace and security of the world.

But in our entire history, courageous Americans have never been captive to fear and will not be captive to fear now. They will halt this wave which

seeks to engulf us. Yes, we will reassert our faith in those who hold public office, reassert our faith in our great governmental institutions. We must not let the asserted defaults and shortcomings of an insignificant minority destroy our faith in our government and its public servants.

As a great President said in another era of peril, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

You as delegates, coming from all parts of this great nation, representing influential organizations, have by this conference created the opportunity for a free discussion by the President of the United States, the Attorney General, the President of the National Education Association, and other distinguished Americans of the weighty problems affecting our citizenship today. I have no doubt that through these deliberations and the resolutions here made you have set in motion counterforces that will help to insure the safety of our precious citizenship in the years to come. Let us, above everything else, keep our faith.

CHAIRMAN HYATT: Thank you, Mr. Anderson.

At the same time that Mr. Anderson was president of the Federal Bar Association, there was also a president of the American Bar Association who likewise saw the good that could be rendered our country through an inspirational induction ceremony and a long-time citizenship program. He joined hands with Mr. Anderson, and through the cooperative efforts of the American Bar Association and the Federal Bar Association, the worth and meaning of our citizenship have been emphasized to over two million new citizens. And to further the noble objective of the National Conference on Citizenship he has even offered to sharpen pencils if necessary. Mr. George Maurice Morris. (Applause)

Mr. Morris Says Americans Need to Relax and Laugh

MR. MORRIS: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. On this occasion it appears to me that what American people need is to relax, stand off and take a look at themselves, and laugh a little. In these days, when we move from crisis to crisis, the headlines of the newspapers scream, the radio commentators moan, the cartoonists draw sneering cartoons, and we move from intellectual to nervous tenseness and back again to intellectual tenseness, we are a little amusing.

The life of democracy is controversy. Criticism is a good deal like coffee. It may make you nervous, but it helps to keep you awake. (Laughter) When we are in our hottest controversy, as we are now, we are a great people. Controversy is what burns out the soft spots in the thinking of our public men and our people. Criticism is what cuts down phonies.

Today this great democracy of ours, which as a political adolescent has come into the prime ministership of the world, is what makes us good, is what makes us strong.

Look at yourselves, and smile a little. Here you are. What are you here for? You are trying to get a lot of other people who aren't here to realize what a wonderful thing it is to be an American citizen, to take all the advantages of it, not for you but for them, the values that lie in the blessed fact that you were born in this country, which was none of your doing, or that you had sense enough to come into it and be naturalized. Here you are, the children of the greatest material wealth, the greatest individual wealth, the greatest freedom, the greatest comfort, the largest number of deep freezes and refrigerators and automobiles and televisions that anybody has ever thought of. All over the world people wonder, "Why should those people be making such a tremendous effort to give away what they have? Why do they tax themselves? Why do they send their men off to war? Why do they do all these things? What are they up to?"

We are the "doggondest do-gooders" the world has ever seen. Here we are. We have everything that anybody wants within reason. Nobody has ever had all we have. And we have come down here, 1100 of us, all kinds, to get a lot of other people to take advantage of what we have to offer. We are amusing, and we are a little wonderful. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN HYATT: The National Conference on Citizenship is not the product of a solitary thinker. For the future growth of the conference, it is well not to try to pin-point its origin. Perhaps its origin goes back to Valley Forge where ragged, starving soldiers stood together for freedom. Or perhaps more recently to the heroic death of the four chaplains in the North Atlantic who, respecting each other's difference, exemplified what makes our country "one nation indivisible."

At our first conference at Philadelphia, those few of you present here tonight who were present then may recall that a speaker emphasized that the meeting was not a National Education Association gathering or an Immigration and Naturalization Service meeting, but a conference of many representatives of good American organizations. I recall that I was very much impressed with the prayer which he read and which the President of the United States had read at a United Nations ceremony. The prayer contained such words as "justice," "unity," "faith," "hope," and "brotherhood."

He played a significant role in lifting the conference above organizational and individual interests and putting it upon the high plane of what is best for our country and for the peace and happiness of our world. Dr. Richard B. Kennan.

Dr. Kennan Stresses that the Citizenship Conference Is "Our" Conference

DR. RICHARD B. KENNAN: Mr. Chairman, honored guests and delegates to this conference: I would like to throw in just one thought which has nothing to do with the particular thing I want to mention first. This afternoon on the throat of a very attractive delegate from the New Jersey Education Association I saw what impressed me as the perfect symbol of a good teacher. It was an elaborate and a rather beautiful question mark. I have come more and more to believe that as long as we stay curious, we are able to learn. It is because I believe in that, that I have tried to stay curious myself. In recent months the public schools of this country have been under rather severe attack from a good many sources, and one of the statements that is used in attacking the schools, and usually in a very generalized way, is that there are too many fads and frills. So I have gone about asking people who use that expression, "What do you mean by fads and frills?" because I don't want such things in the public schools any more than they do. Time and again one of the things that has been mentioned has been music.

I mention that tonight because as I sat there looking at that beautiful chorus and listening to the inspiration of their songs, I was deeply stirred. And I looked at those fine young men particularly (the girls were beautiful in their costumes, their dresses; they always remind me, particularly at that age, of just pretty flowers appropriate to this season—but the young men who stood at either end, fine, strong, handsome, are boys who within perhaps months will be called upon to give the same service, make the same sacrifice these honored guests of ours have already made) and I wondered what sort of person it was that would deny to those young people the emotional experience, the tremendously valuable and, I think, educational experience of participation together in music. To me, and I wonder if you don't agree, music can never be a frill. It is an essential part of a child's education. (Applause)

There are just one or two things that I wanted to say tonight and say rather quickly. The third through the sixth national conference on citizenship have been called jointly by the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association, but both of these agencies prefer to be considered only as instruments to make these conferences possible. It is most fitting that the Department of Justice, as the agency principally responsible for the citizenship of our foreign-born residents, and the National Education Association, as the principal representative of the teachers of our native-born citizens, should call the national conferences.

But the real test of the success of these meetings will not depend upon the work of the principal sponsoring agencies. If you go back to your community

and to your regular work and refer to this as the NEA's conference or the Attorney General's conference, then the conference will have failed in large degree as far as you are concerned. When you speak of this conference refer to it as our conference, and that of about 1100 other delegates, that of our organization and nearly 700 other organizations. Representatives of many national groups have participated in the planning and leadership of this and most of the earlier conferences on citizenship and have had great influence in shaping policy and carrying on the work.

In one sense the two sponsoring agencies are like catalytic agents that simply accelerate a process. Their major objective is to stimulate and accelerate the citizenship contributions of the many organizations participating in these conferences. But the simile is not a correct one, for a catalytic agent in chemistry stimulates but remains unchanged itself. The work of the National Education Association, and I believe even the work of our great Department of Justice, has been affected, changed and, I firmly believe, improved by the associations, deliberations, and outcomes of these six national conferences on citizenship.

We are now in the closing moments of the Sixth Conference. We should all of us be searching our minds and hearts for ways and means by which we may implement the values that come to us from these meetings. For my part I will summarize our obligations this way. There are citizenship rights and responsibilities which we must learn to carry out more effectively. There is, referring back to that prayer I read earlier, "a fine, clean world our hands can build." There is an American way of life we should advance. There is a deep abiding human brotherhood we can realize. There are basic democratic freedoms we must preserve. But the degree to which this, your conference, our conference, helps achieve these great objectives depends in the greatest measure upon the degree of responsibility you accept and the degree of success you achieve in winning the participation of individuals and groups in advancing the goal of a more active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry in our organizations and in our communities in the months and years ahead.

I would like to take just one moment, because I may never get a chance to do this again, to ask Carl Hyatt to stand up beside me for a moment. You and I have worked together in these conferences from the very first. We never would have had these conferences without the support of the Attorney General of the United States, both Attorney General Clark and Attorney General McGrath. We wouldn't have had them without the support of the officials of the National Education Association, it is true.

There have been lots of people who have helped with these conferences, Carl. I can think of many of them. But to me you have been the one unexpendable man. (Applause) I know he is trying to stop me here. He has

done it before. But he is not going to this time. So, Carl, for service far beyond the call of duty, those long hours when you went down in the morning at five o'clock and stayed until two the next morning, the times when some of your loved ones were ill and you would far rather be at their bedside, I know; for courage amazing to me when at times I know you must have felt you stood alone against some of the forces that tried to stop you; for vision that has seen beyond the years and far beyond the petty annoyances that have come up from time to time; and for citizenship of a character that we all might emulate, I would give you, if I could, a gold medal. The nearest thing I could find when I recognized my opportunity a while ago was the gold in the heart of a flower. And so, on behalf of all the delegates to this conference, I would like to present this little blossom with its golden heart in token of our profound appreciation of the great work you are doing.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

CHAIRMAN HYATT: That puts me on the spot, especially after I emphatically told someone this morning that there should not be any reference to individual contributions to the conference.

If it were not for the deep friendship and brotherly love that I have for men like Dick Kennan and Earl Hawkins and Evan E. Evans, and others, I should probably lose my temper now. The conference is bigger than any one individual—all who participate, contribute.

Our next speaker is a distinguished jurist. At the first meeting of Attorney General Clark's citizenship committee she urged that the Attorney General place the full impact of the Department of Justice into the movement to strengthen our citizenship and that the Department join with the National Education Association in sponsoring a national conference on citizenship. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you a strong believer and supporter of the American heritage, the Honorable Florence Allen. (Applause)

Judge Allen Asks Faith in And Defense of American Principles

THE HONORABLE FLORENCE E. ALLEN: Mr. Hyatt, my fellow Americans and my fellow citizens: As we view the downfall of the basic liberties all over the world, we realize that here in America we have an almost perfect structure and environment for securing justice and freedom. But securing justice and freedom is never a fixed achievement. It is a growth. Whether we view democracy as a system of popular self-government or as the American way of life in which equality of individuals is generally recognized, America as nearly approaches democracy as any country in the world. Governmental democracy was established and has been extended by the Constitution, and freedom from the rigid social restrictions of early England and of the Con-

tinent, combined with the enormous leveling power of the frontier, gave us a democratic approach to our fellows. All of this, in spite of our faults, made for freedom and justice.

But these inestimable privileges will not be maintained unless we create for ourselves and among the youth faith in our free ideals. Faith, that delicate thing called faith, "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," is the prerequisite not only of religion but of freedom. Faith is very difficult to define. Some of our most precious words like "home" and "love" escape the boundaries of definition, and faith is one of them. We know that it is an abiding conviction, something more than a mere belief, and that to maintain faith we must define and understand it, and it must be a belief so convincing that we act upon it.

How many of us define our faith in America? It is a faith based upon the dignity of mankind and the existence in human beings of unalienable rights. But American principles have never been generally formulated into articles of common faith. They have been set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Gettysburg Address, but their scope and meaning are unrevealed to hundreds of thousands of our citizens. We need a rededication of American faith clearly defined and acted upon. Each one of us should say in his mind and heart: "This country belongs to me, and I must cherish it. I believe in the right of human beings to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; in government by the consent of the governed; in the freedom of the press, speech, and assembly; and in the right to worship God according to one's own conscience. I believe in the right of all to justice and in the other rights declared in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, which constitute our heritage. I believe that these rights belong to others as well as to me and that I have not only the privilege to enjoy but the obligation to cherish and maintain them."

We must teach the meaning of this creed in terms of human life today. When we think what Christians (Protestant and Catholic) and Jews have suffered in our own time in once-civilized Europe, freedom of religion takes on new meaning. When American citizens like Vogeler vanish behind the Iron Curtain into torture or when representatives of the press are jailed or thrown into some harbor, when millions of men and women are held in slave labor camps largely because they do not agree with the despotic government under which they live, we begin to understand what liberty means in terms of life and happiness, and that it exists here to an extent not equalled in most countries of the world and nowhere surpassed.

We grew up in this free country and we accept it unthinkingly as the air we breathe. The colossal task we face is to make American ideals a living faith, for otherwise we shall lose our freedom. Our very mechanical mastery,

our mass production and our comparative wealth of living make us disregard the fact that many things, including American principles, are not easily replaced. If I break a towel rod, I can buy one at the ten-cent store; but if we break America, the freedom that was meant to be here can perhaps never be replaced. As surely as night follows day, the forces of crime and corruption, the creeds of despotism and cruelty will win the day if we, the good citizens, stand unheeding.

Since we own America, we must cherish and preserve her not only upon the bloody Korean front but in the equally desperate fields where men of alien creed and morals seek to take the country from us. Without our faith in American principles of integrity, freedom and justice, acted upon with fighting power, we may lose the America that we love so much, the country which today, more even than in Lincoln's time, is the last best hope on earth. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN HYATT: The next speaker's interest in the cause of good citizenship dates back to his early manhood, when in 1919 he was an attorney in the California Department of Immigration and Housing. Later in the fields of education, welfare, law and government, he continued that interest. He has always been a batter for human rights and has received many honors for public service. The Chairman of the Attorney General's Citizenship Committee, the Honorable Justin Miller. (Applause)

Mr. Miller Says Conference Is Helping To Solve Problems

THE HONORABLE JUSTIN MILLER: Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, fellow members of the Conference: If you will look at your programs you will observe that we are now engaged in hearing "Timely Terse Talks by Distinguished Americans." In view of the days of discussions that have preceded this meeting and especially the admirable summaries of Dr. Cunningham, I think it might be wise if we changed that word distinguished to read "courageous" or perhaps "reckless" for assuming we can say anything that hasn't already been said.

I am wondering perhaps whether the committee on arrangements might have presented this galaxy of so-called distinguished people by way of contrast for your benefit so that when you go home you will be able to say, "If they were distinguished, certainly there is plenty of hope for me." I once taught public speaking, and I know how we played tricks of that kind in getting over lessons.

It has occurred to me that perhaps it was thought that we might reach some of those who spent their time in the glamor sessions instead of in the work sessions.

One other point: We were told that these were to be inspirational talks. You have observed how each one of us has done that job so far. Now here is mine. I hope perhaps that I can catch something of the spirit of the conference.

Experience has taught us that a free people living in an orderly world have the best chance of realizing their full potentialities. It has taught us also to our sorrow that freedom is not self-perpetuating but must be fought for from generation to generation and that an orderly world with stable governments necessary to keep it that way is still an ideal unrealized and unattained.

While the earth revolves on a steady axis, thank God, and can find its way without our help through a universe of which we are only partially conscious, nevertheless in those affairs which man controls it is an unsteady craft which requires frequent mending, sometimes more than at other times, as is very evident today.

We look almost instinctively to government to insure freedom and to preserve an orderly world. When it does we take it for granted and pile greater and greater responsibility upon it, shedding our freedoms in return for protection and security. When government fails, then we blame it for our failures. We become confused, anxious, and occasionally discouraged.

This conference seeks a way out of our dilemma. How can we make government serve us best? How can we best cooperate in the business of government? How can we help to improve relations between the nations of the world? How can we reach the minds and hearts of men and women all over the earth?

It seems highly appropriate that the Department of Justice, which is designed to help preserve an orderly world and to protect our freedoms, should join with education in this enterprise. Presumably one of the major purposes of education is to train young people for intelligent and effective participation in government. We set up special schools to train men and women for military service and maintain them at federal expense. We make great investments in training centers for experts in the physical sciences. We establish educational standards of professional training and deny to those who have not met such standards the privilege of practicing those professions.

But what have we done to train our people for citizenship? Whatever the reason, we know that it has not been good enough. Generation followed generation asking, "What shall we do? How shall we exercise our privilege of citizenship?" Often we have been embarrassed by hearing so-called distinguished adult advisers reply, embarrassingly it seems to me, frustratingly: "Well, you must vote and serve on juries." I would be the last to de-emphasize the importance of voting and jury service; but, after all, jury service comes only about once in five years, never to some people; and voting, which constitutes the absolute minimum of citizenship participation, is hardly

sufficient to satisfy the active mind of a young citizen eager to be up and doing about the affairs of government.

When will we learn that it is equally important to provide sufficient funds for teacher training, teacher salaries, and adequate facilities for education in citizenship as for war-making and for the technical sciences? When will we learn to dignify citizenship and give it as much prestige of achievement as we do to other forms of achievement?

This conference is beginning to give answers to these questions. I wish that some of these adult advisers to whom I have referred could have been here to hear these discussions and all these many suggestions. Those who are attending these conferences each year in increasing numbers are finding opportunity to hear those who are actually participating in government. They are taking home not only inspiration, but information concerning the many ways in which intelligent citizenship can play its role. As individuals and as organizations, they can coordinate their efforts to bring system out of disorder.

This conference brings to my mind a picture of a beautiful room with a great window looking across a fair land to a range of mountains and to an azure sea. You who over the years have built this conference into a vital institution of citizenship are opening a great window of understanding for those who are groping for an opportunity to participate usefully in governmental affairs of community, state, nation, and the world.

I thank you. (Applause)

Justice Tom Clark Presents Awards to Conference Chairmen

CHAIRMAN HYATT: And now it gives me a peculiar pleasure to present to you my former chief who has been given a special assignment by the conference.

When the record is compiled I truly believe that he will go down in history as a great contributor to the cause of better citizenship and the promotion of human welfare. He accepted wholeheartedly the recommendation of Judge Allen and his advisory committee on citizenship and put the full support of the Department of Justice, along with the National Education Association, behind the National Conference on Citizenship.

When he was advanced to the Supreme Court of the United States and left the post of the Attorney General, he gave up most of his outside connections, but he accepted one, a very important one, an appointment on the citizenship committee of his successor, the present Attorney General.

I am now most deeply proud to present to you the Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Honorable Tom C. Clark.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

THE HONORABLE TOM C. CLARK: Mr. chairman and friends: I have a most happy privilege tonight. In fact, it is another one of these firsts that the judge spoke of a few moments ago. I believe it is the first time that this conference has ever in writing extended its appreciation, its affection, and its esteem to any person. I would like to have Dr. Hawkins and Mr. Evans to come up here. If you will stand on this side, Doctor, and Mr. Evans over here.

These two gentlemen have rendered a great service not only to this conference since its inception but to our country. They have done what we call down home "spade work." They have gone to sessions other than the glamor sessions, as Dr. Cunningham put it. Their unceasing and sacrificing (because each of them has made great sacrifices) work all during these years has brought about the great success that this conference has achieved in the promotion of citizenship throughout this land of ours. It is for this fine work —to just one end, that neither education, equality, religion, nor justice shall ever be rationed in this country of ours—that I am happy to award tonight, on behalf of you, these certificates.

So to Dr. Earle T. Hawkins, who for four years devotedly and unselfishly served as chairman of this Conference, I take pleasure in presenting this certificate. (Applause)

Next month, Doctor, you will get another certificate, I understand. Of course that certificate should go above this one, but I hope this will be right below that one. [Reference to Dr. Hawkins' approaching marriage.]

Dr. Evans, for the work that you have done, sir, in the last two conferences as chairman, on behalf of this conference and on behalf of all the other conferences in which we have had your leadership and your guidance, I want to give this certificate, not only of affection, not only of esteem, but of deep appreciation for all the many things that you have done. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN HYATT: I will call on Evan later. I think now we should hear from our former chairman.

DR. EARLE T. HAWKINS: Any of you in the audience who happen to be my friends know it is very seldom I lack words. I don't quite lack them tonight but I almost do. I want to express my sincere appreciation to the people who had the idea of presenting the certificate and my sincere thanks to all of you who have attended all the other conferences we have had. I have just one little story I would like to tell here.

A lady—let us call her Mrs. Jones—had some land, and she had a farmer, Mr. Brown. One day she said to him, "Mr. Brown, I think they are having down in the village this evening the county agent who is going to talk about some new methods on farming. Perhaps you would like to go down and

listen to him." He looked at her and scratched his head and said, "No, Mrs. Jones, I don't think I will go. I know more about farming now than I ever put into practice."

What I want to say is, while we have a lot more to learn about citizenship, it seems to me that our speakers tonight have stressed this matter of action and participation. Somebody said (I don't know who it was) that one reason we had the second world war was that between the first and second wars so many good people had merely been good while so many bad people had been active. So I think that if we have more action and more participation among those who are here, and particularly if we can encourage action and participation among more who are not here, citizenship in this country will go forward. (Applause)

Conference Leaders Bring Sixth National Conference to a Close

CHAIRMAN HYATT: In a few moments the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship will come to a close. The ending of this conference brings a tug at my heartstrings. We have met America here. It has been a great conference and an inspiring conference, except for the last few moments.

It was a thrilling moment when our President came to the Conference, and I cannot refrain from telling you that my first interest in what it means to be a citizen of the United States dates back over 40 years ago to an incident concerning another President of our country.

I had gone to California to live for a brief time with an older cousin of mine who was also from North Carolina.

Early one morning in 1909 Bill came to my room, shook me out of my farm boy's sleep and told me to get up. He said we were taking the ferry to San Francisco to see the President. President Taft, then on a tour of the country, was due to arrive that morning.

We reached San Francisco at dawn and took our places near the ferry building.

The Presidential party was late in arriving, and for five long, weary, hot hours we stood in the tightly packed crowd.

When the President arrived, Bill was one of the first to see him. He threw his hat into the air and cheered. The President looked in his direction and waved. Bill must have thought that it was an intimate personal greeting. We didn't have television in those days. He jumped up and down and yelled like one gone mad and kept this up until the President disappeared up Market Street.

My back and legs ached; but worse than that, an ugly suspicion had begun to form in my mind. Bill must have turned Republican since he left Yancey County, North Carolina.

He bought all the papers, the *Chronicle*, the *Bulletin*, the *Examiner*, and on the ferryboat going back home that night he read the articles about the President, then cut them out, carefully folded them and placed them in an envelope.

No longer able to contain myself, I blurted out: "Bill, aren't you a Democrat?"

He looked surprised and said, "Of course I am a Democrat."

"Well," I said, "I just can't understand why a good Democrat would stand all those hours in the hot sun just to see a Republican, and now you are reading all about him."

What Bill said then I have never forgotten: "Carl," he said, kindly but deadly serious, "I thought you understood. Yes, I am a Democrat. I didn't vote for Mr. Taft for President; and I didn't want him for President. But the majority of the American people wanted him and the American people, under our form of government, are entitled to have what they want. When he became the President, he became the President of all the people, my President as much as the President of any Republican who lives. He is the symbol of the right of the people to choose those who govern them. He is the representative of our great country, with its many rights and privileges, and especially the right of a free people to govern themselves."

Now as we return to our homes in faraway Alaska, the precious island possessions in the two great oceans, Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, homes among the rolling hills of New England and under the bending blue of Southern skies, homes on the limitless plains of the Golden West, and homes in other grand parts of our wonderful country, may we take back with us from the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship a resolve to contribute our bit to strengthening our nation and preserving our heritage and, as Bill said, especially the right of a free people to govern themselves.

Now, at our first morning session the Chairman of our Conference became so excited he ran out of the hall following the President and forgot to adjourn the meeting. So he has another chance now, and I am happy to turn this meeting for formal closing of the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship to my good friend, the Chairman of the Conference Committee, Evan E. Evans. (Applause)

MR. EVAN E. EVANS: Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests and members of the Conference: If you will remember when I opened this conference I said I was excited and scared. Tonight I am still excited. I haven't gotten over

that. I will say I am still scared, but I am also deeply moved. I am honored and pleased, and I want to tell you very confidentially—I hope the word doesn't get down to that end of the table—I am so happy that Kathleen happens to be at this conference and could be here tonight. (Applause)

I have a chore to do, and it is one that I like to do. I wish we had time that I could take at least an hour. That is to express appreciation to all of the people who have made this conference possible. I think I honestly could take an hour to list those that I know who have been working in the back, but are still in the front. I know that back of those, there must be another 50 or 100 whose names I don't know and haven't even seen. It is terribly dangerous to mention any names at all, but I want especially to mention some names. I want to mention the two executive committees that have worked together as a joint committee, the Planning Committee. I will have an opportunity to express my appreciation to them at their meeting in the morning.

If there are any of you who have any suggestions as to things that should be deleted from the next conference or things that should be added to the next conference you should include them on the sheets of paper. But if you fail to do that, if you get word to any of the members of the Planning Committee, whose names are listed in the back of the program, they will bring the suggestions into the meeting in the morning.

Particularly to the staffs at the Department of Justice—I hesitate to say who has headed up that group but I know that Dorothy Morford has been on the job all the time, and Martha Mangin and some of the others. Of course to Lucile and all the fine girls who have been doing the grand work at the National Education Association we express appreciation, because they did the very hard behind-the-scenes work.

I had two stories I wanted to tell and I wanted to summarize the conference, but I have just received a telepathic message from my wife in which she said to me I am sure, "If you are smart you will get this conference over." We will now all stand and sing together the National Anthem, remain standing while the Honor Guard retires the colors. Following that the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship will be adjourned.

(The National Anthem)

(Retirement of the Colors)

ADDITIONAL RECORDS

History

The series of national citizenship conferences that began in Philadelphia, May 17-18, 1946, grew out of the effort of the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association to discover what was being done in the field of citizenship and to cooperate with other organizations working in the same area. Both the first conference in Philadelphia in 1946 and the second conference in Boston in 1947 had the advice and cooperation of the United States Department of Justice. In the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth conferences, the Department of Justice has been co-sponsor with the Association.

Reasons for the Conference

In planning the First National Conference the Committee in charge outlined the following pertinent points:

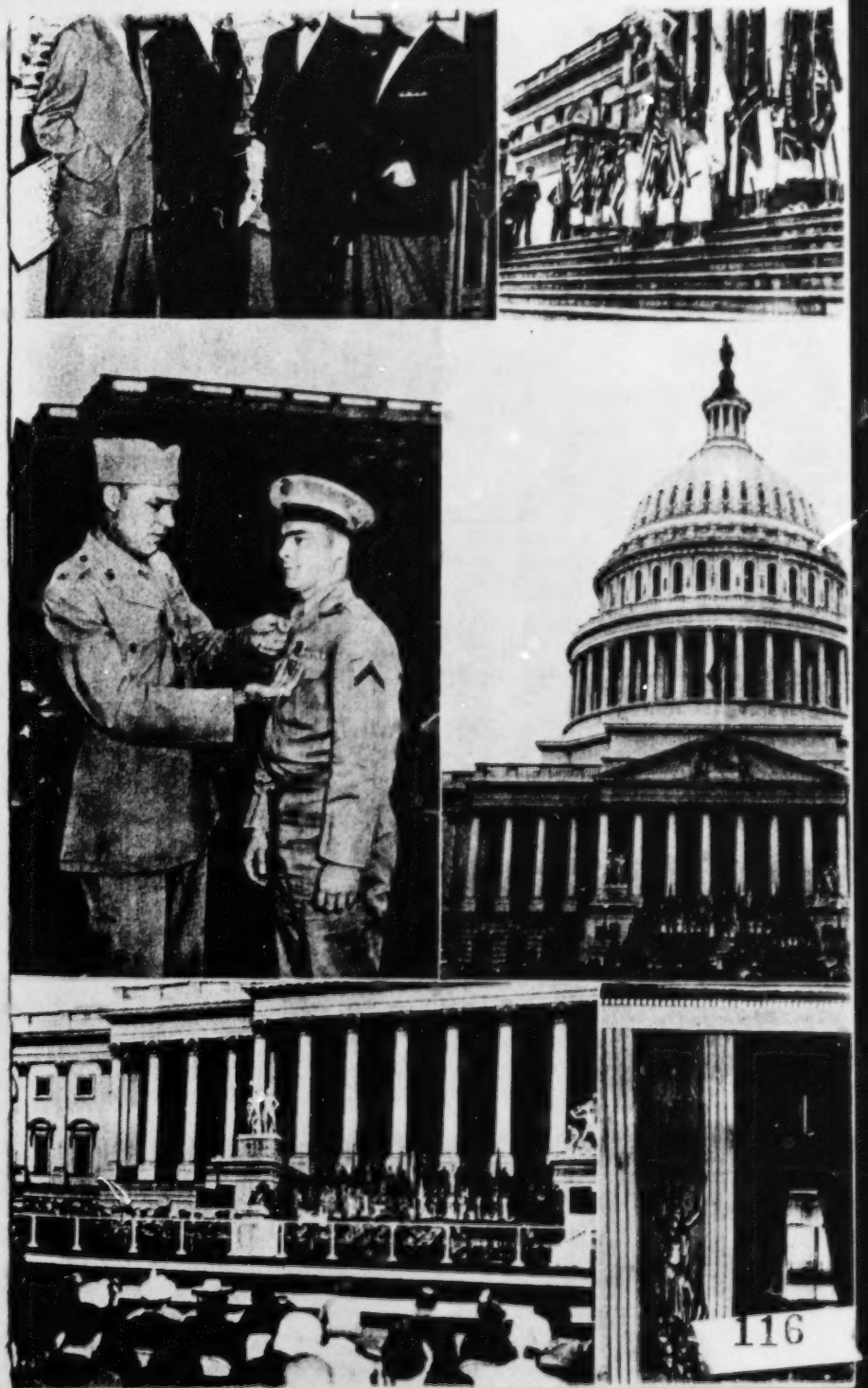
That never before in the history of the world has it been so important to bring civic interest and participation to a high level;

That there are many leading national organizations which play a part or can play a part in developing better practices in good citizenship;

That these organizations are all working independently, with much duplication and with varying degrees of success;

That the contributions of these organizations have had real value, and that this value can be increased many fold if the various group efforts are coordinated;

The conference sponsored by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the program of the District of Columbia I Am An American Day were a fitting prelude and postlude to the Citizenship Conference. Upper left*: *At the INS conference, District of Columbia Commissioner J. Edward Donahue, Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman, Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark, and the Honorable Argyle R. Mackey, commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, stand before an exhibit of publications.* Upper right*: *Massing of the colors on the Capitol steps.* Center left*: *Col. Raymond L. Murray, former commander, Fifth Marine Regiment, First Marine Division in Korea (left), presents the Purple Heart to Corp. Philip David Sumner, U. S. Marines, who was wounded in action in Korea.* Center right*: *The Capitol serves as background for the I Am An American Day program.* Lower left*: *The noted baritone, Les Williams, sings.* Lower right: *Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark gives the opening address to the INS conference.*



That there are practices, programs, and techniques which are effective in developing good citizenship—and other practices, programs, and techniques which are of doubtful or negative value;

That there is need for a concerted nationwide effort to evaluate and attempt to improve the programs of various groups;

That there is often a tendency for sincerely interested groups to pay more attention to the dramatic and spectacular;

That there is likewise the danger of a group developing programs which have more results in the way of publicizing the group itself than in developing effective and constructive citizenship;

That the ineffectiveness of such programs often comes not from wilful desire to advertise one's good deeds, but from a lack of knowledge of types of programs which have proved successful;

That it would, therefore, be highly desirable to bring together in conferences representatives of the various outstanding civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and communications groups of the country who would give several days' serious attention to the concrete objectives of the conference.

The Plan of the Conference

The policies and program of the sixth conference were developed with continuing advice and cooperation of committees whose membership totaled more than a hundred people, representing almost as many organizations and agencies. Focus of theme and discussion topics, divisions of time, pattern and mechanics of the conference were, in so far as possible, in accordance with majority decisions of these groups and in accordance with evaluation questionnaires returned by hundreds of delegates to the fifth conference.

Chosen to speak to the conference were people who stimulated their audiences to serious and constructive thinking. In the small discussion groups, as in the large discussion session, all delegates considered simultaneously the same problems.

The committees placed a great deal of emphasis on the work group discussions and suggested that the conference succeeds to the extent that these meetings stimulate thought and effective action. Assignments to discussion groups were made with a view to representing varied interests in each group. In accordance with enthusiastic suggestions from last year's delegates, meeting time for discussion groups was increased.

CONFERENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE

HOWARD R. ANDERSON, associate chief, Instructional Problems, Secondary Schools Section, Division of Elementary and Secondary Schools, Office of Education.
WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, military delegate, Military Ordinariate
KARL H. BERNS, assistant secretary for business, NEA
MRS. RICHARD W. BLALOCH, president, Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
ROBERT V. BOLGER, judge, Orphans' Court, Standing Committee on American Citizenship, American Bar Association
BERNICE BRIDGES, director, Youth Division, National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
HENRY P. CHANDLER, director, Administrative Office of the United States Court
MANNING CLAGETT, acting director of information, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.
TOM C. CLARK, justice of the Supreme Court
GORDON H. COLE, editor, *The Machinist*
JOHN D. CONNORS, director, Workers Education Bureau, American Federation of Labor
MRS. STANLEY G. COOK, chairman, Committee on Legislation, Maryland Congress of Parents and Teachers
HOBART M. CORNING, superintendent of schools, Washington, D. C.
GEORGE B. CORWIN, secretary for youth program, National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations
HARRY K. EBY, national director, School Relationships, Boy Scouts of America
RHEA M. ECKEL, vice president, New York State Citizens' Council, Inc.
ROBERT ENGLER, assistant legislative secretary, Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America
BELMONT FARLEY, director, Press and Radio Relations, NEA
RAYMOND F. FARRELL, assistant commissioner, Research, Education, and Information Division, Immigration and Naturalization Service
MRS. C. VAUGHAN FERGUSON, president, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.
GEORGE H. FERN, associate director, Education Department, National Association of Manufacturers
FRANK L. FERNBACH, Department of Education and Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations
WILLIAM J. FLYNN, assistant national director, American Junior Red Cross
JAMES T. GALLAHORN, principal, The Americanization School of the District of Columbia
PAUL H. GOOD, secretary, Committee on Education, Chamber of Commerce of the United States
J. R. (PAT) GORMAN, JR., national vice president, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce
FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS, minister, Foundry Methodist Church
MERRILL F. HARTSHORN, executive secretary, National Council for the Social Studies, NEA
EARLE T. HAWKINS, president, State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland
FREDERICK G. HOCHWALT, director, Commission on American Citizenship, Catholic University of America
MRS. HIRAM COLE HOUGHTON, president, General Federation of Women's Clubs
ALICE SCOTT HYATT, chief, Special Services Branch, Division of Social Services, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency
DOROTHEA JARECKI, director, Strong Residence, YWCA
PAMELA JEWETT, youth representative, American Junior Red Cross
MORDECAI W. JOHNSON, president, Howard University
A. B. KAPPLIN, director, National Commission on Americanism and Civic Affairs, B'nai B'rith
W. P. KENNEDY, president, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen

ALLAN B. KLINE, president, American Farm Bureau Federation
ANNA M. KROSS, judge, Magistrates Courts, City of New York
WALDRON E. LEONARD, chairman, I Am an American Day, for the District of Columbia
MALVINA LINDSAY, columnist, *The Washington Post*
ARGYLE R. MACKEY, commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service
JULIUS MELTZER, Veterans of Foreign Wars
JOHN R. MILES, director of research, Committee on Education, Chamber of Commerce of the United States
FRIEDA S. MILLER, director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor
WATSON B. MILLER, consultant, The American Legion, Washington Headquarters
CLYDE E. MURRAY, executive director, Manhattanville Neighborhood Center
MRS. ERNEST ONSTOTT, director, Camp Rockwood, National Girl Scout Camp
MRS. ROBERT P. PATTERSON, joint organizer, Junior Army-Navy Guild
DAN PYLE, judge, St. Joseph Circuit Court
FREDERICK E. REISSIG, executive secretary, Washington Federation of Churches
ROBERT K. RICHARDS, director of public affairs, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters
RICHARD RIECKEN, president, APO Chapter, George Washington University
WILLIAM F. RUSSELL, president, Teachers College, Columbia University
RUTH SHIPLEY, chief, Passport Division, U. S. Department of State
WILLIAM J. SHORROCK, editor, *Civic Leader*, Civic Education Service
MRS. JAMES SKINNER, JR., president, Association of Junior Leagues of America
GLENN E. SNOW, assistant secretary for lay relations, NEA
W. T. SPANTON, chief, Agricultural Education Branch, Office of Education
MRS. HAROLD A. STONE, League of Women Voters of the United States
CARL C. TAYLOR, head, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture
HENRY TOY, JR., director, National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools
GEORGE TRIEDMAN, chief, Civil Rights Section, Department of Justice
WILLIAM S. VINCENT, executive officer, Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University
JERRY VOORHIS, executive secretary, The Cooperative League of The United States of America
IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN, youth representative, National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
ALLEN B. WILLAND, director, National Americanism Commission, The American Legion
ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, executive secretary, National Municipal League

Planning Committee Alternates

EDWINA V. A. AVERY, editor, Immigration and Naturalization Service
JOE BETTS, associate director of information, American Farm Bureau Federation
EDWARD P. BURNS, assistant to the assistant national adjutant, The American Legion
DAVID D. CALDWELL, Department of Justice (retired)
WALLACE J. CAMPBELL, director, The Cooperative League of the United States of America
LAWSON G. CANTRELL, associate superintendent, Public Schools of the District of Columbia
SALLY M. CLAGGETT, research director, General Federation of Women's Clubs
HOWARD H. CUMMINGS, head, Government and Economics, Instructional Problems—Secondary, Office of Education
LLOYD C. HALVORSON, economist, National Grange
NANCY HANEY, program specialist, Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
ELIZABETH HART, Research, Education, and Information Division, Immigration and Naturalization Service

CONSTANCE F. JONES, Citizenship staff, NEA
MRS. CARL MARCY, second vice president of the League of Women Voters of Virginia
PEARL C. RAWLES, chief, Branch of Economic Studies, Division of Research, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor
VIRGINIA REYNOLDS, Press and Radio Relations, NEA
HELEN ROWE, national associate director, Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
MRS. DONALD B. STOUGH, public relations secretary, League of Women Voters of the United States
H. B. SWANSON, assistant chief, Agricultural Education Branch, Office of Education
MARY SYNON, editorial consultant, Commission of American Citizenship, Catholic University of America
PAUL TABER, assistant to the national master, National Grange
MILDRED WHITE WELLS, publicity director, General Federation of Women's Clubs

Chairmen of Special Committees

COFFEE HOURS
Emma Mae Brotze, principal, Marshall Junior High School, Marshall, Texas

CONFERENCE SUMMARY
Lois Clark, assistant director of rural service, NEA

DISCUSSION GROUPS
Stanley E. Dimond, professor of education, School of Education, University of Michigan

DISCUSSION GROUP ARRANGEMENTS
Natalie Gould, assistant secretary, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, NEA

EXHIBITS
Thomas Clear, principal, Katherine T. Murphy School

FLOWERS
RUTH C. LITTLE, assistant director, Division of Publications, NEA

HONOR GUESTS
Robert N. Anderson, special assistant to the attorney general, Department of Justice

LUNCHEON AND DINNER HOSTESSES
Mrs. Stanley G. Cook, legislation chairman, Maryland Congress of Parents and Teachers

MOVIES
J. James McPherson, executive secretary, Department of Audio Visual Instruction, NEA

MUSIC
H. W. Fenner, president, Choir Guild, St. John's Episcopal Church

RADIO
Robert K. Richards, director of public affairs, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters

YOUTH PROGRAM
William J. Flynn, assistant national director, American Junior Red Cross

CONTINUATION PLANNING
Earle T. Hawkins, president, State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

Wednesday, May 16

10:00 A.M. to 12:00 M.

Special conference on citizenship education for the foreign-born and related matters, under auspices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice.
Great Hall, Department of Justice
Morning Session
Chairman: Mr. Benjamin G. Habberton, *Deputy Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service*
Welcome to delegates:
The Honorable Philip B. Perlman, *Solicitor General of the United States*
Conference Objectives:
The Honorable Argyle R. Mackey, *Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*
Education of the Foreign Born for Citizenship:
Mr. Thomas A. Van Sant, *Director, Division of Adult Education, Department of Education, Baltimore, Maryland*
The Naturalization Proceedings and Court Ceremony:
The Honorable Tom Clark, *Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court*
The Problems of the Naturalized Citizen Abroad:
Mr. Eugene C. Rowley, *Chairman, Board of Review, Passport Division, United States Department of State*
Some Present Day Naturalization Problems:
Mr. A. C. Devaney, *Assistant Commissioner, Adjudications Division, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

12:30 P.M. to 1:30 P.M.

Great Hall, Department of Justice
Buffet Luncheon
Under auspices of District of Columbia Americanization School. Service and entertainment by members of the student body

2:00 P.M. to 4:00 P.M.

Great Hall, Department of Justice
Afternoon Session
Discussion Groups:
I. Education of the Foreign-born for Citizenship
Moderator: Mr. James T. Gallahorn, *Administrative Principal, Americanization School and Executive Officer, Americanization School Association*
II. The Naturalization Court Induction Ceremony
Moderator: The Honorable James W. Morris, *Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia*
III. Nationality and Naturalization
Moderator: Mr. James A. Hamilton, Jr., *Attorney, Office of the General Council, Immigration and Naturalization Service*
General Assembly
Reports of Moderators
Summarization of Conference:
Dr. Henry B. Hazard, *Former Assistant Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

8:00 P.M.
Americanization School, 19th and California Streets, N. W.
Evening Session
"I Am an American Day" Celebration
Presiding: The Honorable Alexander Holtzoff, *Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia*
Welcome to New Citizens naturalized during past year
Mr. James T. Gallahorn, Jr., *Administrative Principal, Americanization School*
Folk dances and songs of many nations
Members of student body

Preliminary Events

9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Continental Room
Press services

2:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Mezzanine Check Room
Registration

2:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Congressional Room
Setting up of exhibits

4:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Potomac Room
Meeting of Youth Panel for Tuesday's program

10:30 A.M. to 4:00 P.M.

Board Room, National Education Association
All-day training session for Group Leaders—Lunch at Martinique Hotel
Training Team
Dr. Stanley E. Dimond, *Professor, University of Michigan*
Mr. John T. Cheney, *Chief of the Literature Division, Public Libraries of the District of Columbia*
Dr. Ruth Cunningham, *Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University*
Miss Carolyn Royall Just, *Lawyer, Department of Justice*

Thursday, May 17

8:00 A.M. to 10:15 A.M.

Mezzanine Check Room
Registration

9:15 A.M. to 10:00 A.M.

Congressional Room
Coffee Hour
(Admission by Delegate Badge)
Special Guests:
Participants in the Opening Session Program: The Honorable Tom C. Clark, *Justice of the Supreme Court;* Mrs. Dean G. Acheson, *wife of the Secretary of State;* Mrs. J. Howard McGrath, *wife of the Attorney General;* Mrs. Charles F. Brannan, *wife of the Secretary of Agriculture;* The Honorable Peyton

Ford, *Deputy Attorney General*, and Mrs. Ford; Dr. Willard E. Givens, *Executive Secretary, National Education Association*
Music, United States Army Band
Captain Hugh Curry, *Leader*

10:15 A.M. to 12:30 P.M.

Presidential Room
Opening General Session
Presiding: Miss Corma Mowrey, *President, National Education Association*
Advancement of the Colors:
American Legional National Guard of Honor
Captain Gail T. Judd, *Leader*
Invocation: The Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, *Chaplain of the United States Senate*
National Anthem
The Conference Purpose
Mr. Evan E. Evans, *Chairman of the Conference Committee*
The United States and World Freedom
The Honorable J. Howard McGrath, *Attorney General of the United States*
A Note of Realism
Dr. William G. Carr, *Associate Secretary, National Education Association*
Citizenship in Time of Crisis
The Honorable Wayne Morse, *United States Senator from Oregon*
Greetings: The Honorable Harry S. Truman, *President of the United States*
Guest: Mrs. Harry S. Truman
Announcements

2:30 P.M. to 4:00 P.M.

Discussion Group Sessions
Topic: Freedom and Citizenship Activities

7:30 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.

Presidential Room
Youth Evening
Presiding: Dr. John W. Davis, *Chairman, National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education*
Invocation: The Reverend Edward J. Carney, O.S.A., *Past National Chaplain, the American Legion*
Music: Washington-Lee High School Madrigal Singers
Florence Booker, *Director*
Eleanor Christ, *Student Leader*
Shirley Repass, *Accompanist*
Thumbnail Reports: Dr. Ruth Cunningham, *Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University*
The Place of Youth in the Sixth National Conference on Citizenship
Mr. William J. Flynn, *Assistant National Director, American Junior Red Cross —Youth Chairman*
Youth Discussion: A Citizen's Responsibility in a Democracy
Moderator: Miss Dorothy Gordon, *Director, New York Times Youth Forum*
Guest: The Honorable W. Averell Harriman, *Special Assistant to the President*
Participants:
Miss Joy Alexander, Burns Flat, Oklahoma—16 years old; representing high school youth; nominated by the 4-H Clubs
Miss Mary L. Coleman, Baltimore, Maryland—22 years old; representing working youth; a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers; nominated by the United World Federalists, Inc.

Miss Claudette James, Forsythe, Georgia—14 years old; representing high school youth; nominated by the Future Homemakers of America
Mr. Gerald Richards, Elmira, New York—17 years old; representing high school youth; nominated by the YMCA
Mr. Arthur James Robinson, Washington, D. C.—18 years old; representing college youth; nominated by the American Legion; student at George Washington University
Mr. Richard Wilson, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—23 years old; representing college youth; nominated by the Boy Scouts of America
Discussion from the floor
Announcements

Friday, May 18

10:00 A.M. to 12:00 M.

Discussion Group Sessions
Topic: A Citizen's Responsibility for Freedom at Home

12:30 P.M. to 2:30 P.M.

Presidential Room
Luncheon
Presiding: The Honorable Argyle R. Mackey, *Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice*
Invocation: Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, *Minister of the Washington Hebrew Congregation*
Thumbnail Report of Discussion:
Dr. Ruth Cunningham, *Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University*
Address: The Honorable Estes Kefauver, *United States Senator from Tennessee*
Panel: The Role of Press and Radio in This Changing World
Moderator: Mr. Theodore Granik, *Director, American Forum of the Air*
Participants:
Mr. Charles Collingwood, *White House Correspondent for CBS News*
Mr. Elmer Davis, *ABC Commentator*
Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, *Reporter, The Washington Post*
Mrs. Ruth Montgomery, *Washington Correspondent for The New York Daily News*
Discussion from the floor
Announcements

2:45 P.M. to 4:45 P.M.

Discussion Group Sessions
Topic: Continuation of "A Citizen's Responsibility for Freedom at Home"
Free Evening

7:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M.

Board Room, National Education Association
"You, the People" and other citizenship movies

Saturday, May 19

7:45 A.M. to 8:30 A.M.

Congressional Room
Coffee and Doughnuts

8:45 A.M. to 10:30 A.M.
Discussion Group Sessions
Topic: A Citizen's Responsibility for Freedom Abroad

12:30 P.M. to 1:45 P.M.
Pan American Room
Luncheon for Discussion Leaders Only

2:00 P.M. to 4:00 P.M.
Discussion Group Sessions
Topic: Continuation of "A Citizen's Responsibility for Freedom Abroad"

7:30 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.
Presidential Room
Banquet (Informal) and Closing Session
Presiding: The Honorable Carl B. Hyatt, *Director, Attorney General's Citizenship Program*
Invocation: The Reverend Matthew M. Hanley, O.P., *Dominican House of Studies, Catholic University of America*
Music
Excerpts from "Faith of Our Fathers"
Symphonic Drama produced by the National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission
Introduced by Mr. William Vorenberg, *Director*, substituting for Mr. Paul Green, author
Music: Eastern High School Mixed Chorus
J. J. Summers, *Director*
Margaret Hughes, *Accompanist*
Timely Terse Talks by Distinguished Americans
Greetings: The Honorable Alben W. Barkley, *Vice President of the United States*, and for the third consecutive year *Honorary Chairman of the Conference* (Read by the Presiding Officer)
Announcements
Formal Closing of the Conference
Mr. Evan E. Evans, *Chairman of the Conference Committee*
National Anthem
String Ensemble from Woodrow Wilson Senior High and Alice Deal Junior High
Hendrick Essers, *Director*
Retirement of the Colors, American Legion National Guard of Honor

Sunday, May 20

9:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M.
Pan American Room
Breakfast for Members of Planning Committee

2:00 P.M.
The Capitol Steps
District of Columbia "I Am an American Day" Ceremonies
Colonel Waldron E. Leonard, *Chairman*
Musical and dramatic entertainment
Speaker: The Honorable F. Joseph Donohue, *Commissioner, District of Columbia*

4:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M.
Carter T. Barron Memorial Theater, 18th Street and Colorado Avenue
Music Festival, Junior High Schools of the District of Columbia. Admission free

GROUP LEADERS

HALL BARTLETT, head, Materials Division, Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University
CHARLES E. BISH, principal, McKinley High School
REGIS L. BOYLE, teacher of journalism and English, Eastern High School
MARGARET JUST BUTCHER, associate professor of English, Howard University
JOHN CHENEY, chief, Literature Division, Public Libraries of the District of Columbia
PATRICIA COLLINS, attorney, Department of Justice
MARIE CORRIGAN, dean of women, Catholic University of America
RYLAND CRARY, associate professor of history, Teachers College, Columbia University
RALPH DUKE, Extension Teaching Bureau, University of Texas
HARRY K. EBY, national director, School Relationships, Boy Scouts of America
GEORGE MORRIS FAY, United States attorney, District of Columbia
ELEANOR C. FISHBURN, managing editor, *News* and *Journal*, American Junior Red Cross
RICHARD W. FLOURNOY, American Society of International Law, former assistant legal adviser, State Department
MARION FOX, junior high school teacher of social science and language arts, Atlantic City, New Jersey
DOROTHY MCCLURE FRASER, former staff member, Office of Education
GEORGE I. GLASHEEN, chief, Educational Services Section, United States Atomic Energy Commission
WALTER GRAVES, assistant editor, *NEA Journal*
JOHN H. HAEFNER, associate professor of social studies education, State University of Iowa
WALTER E. HAGER, president, Wilson Teachers College
RALPH W. HARDY, director of government relations, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters
MRS. WELLS HARRINGTON, mayor of Greenbelt, Maryland
TILDEN HARRISON, program director, Young Men's Christian Association, Wilmington, Delaware
MRS. ALFRED E. MUDGE, chairman, National Public Affairs Committee, Young Women's Christian Association
J. J. O'DONNELL, captain, USN, chief, Education Branch, Armed Forces, I. and E. Division
JAMES E. PALMER, special assistant to the attorney general, United States Department of Justice
ARTHUR F. RAPER, social scientist, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture
ROBERT K. RICHARDS, director of public affairs, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters
JAMES E. RUSSELL, assistant executive, Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University
R. WORTH SHUMAKER, assistant director, National Americanism Commission, The American Legion
FRANK M. SNOWDEN, director of summer school and professor of classics, Howard University
JOHN B. SULLIVAN, director of education, State Commission Against Discrimination, Executive Department, State of New York
MRS. CHARLES W. TILLETT, former vice chairman, Democratic National Committee
ALBERT S. WATSON, management officer, State Department
CHARLES F. WEST, JR., grand lodge representative, International Association of Machinists
CHARLES C. WISE, JR., legislative counsel, Reconstruction Finance Corporation

INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND AGENCIES PARTICIPATING IN THE SIXTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

Adelphi College
Administrative Office of United States Courts
Alabama, State of
Alaska, Territory of
Alaska Department of Public Instruction
Alaska Education Commission
All-American Conference to Combat Communism
Allied Youth, Inc.
Alpha Phi Omega
American Academy of Pediatrics
American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, NEA
American Association for Group Workers
American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, NEA
American Association of School Administrators, NEA
American Association for the United Nations
American Association of University Women, District of Columbia Branch
American Automobile Association
American Bar Association, Committee on American Citizenship
American Broadcasting System
The American City
American Civic Association
American Civil Liberties Union
American Council for the Community
American Council on Education
American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc.
American Dental Association
American Educational Research Association
American Farm Bureau Federation
American Farm Bureau Federation, National Youth Committee
American Federation of Government Employees
American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, Inc.
American Federation of Soroptimist Clubs
American Federation of Labor—Union Labor Trades Department
American Forum of the Air
American Gold Star Mothers, Inc.
American Hearing Society
American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, District of Columbia, Chapter No. 31
American Home Economics Association
American Home Economics Association, University of Maryland
American Hungarian Federation
American Institute of Park Executives

Americanization League of Syracuse and Onondaga County, Inc.
Americanization School of District of Columbia
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Junior Red Cross
The American Legion, National Headquarters
American Legion Auxiliary, Connecticut
American Legion Auxiliary, West Virginia
American Legion, Maryland
American Legion, Mississippi
American Legion, New Hampshire
American Legion, Pennsylvania
American Legion, Rhode Island
American Legion, Vermont
American Legion, Virginia
American Library Association
American Medical Association
American Medical Women's Association
American National Red Cross
American Nurses' Association
American Art Federation
American Political Science Association
American Psychiatric Association
American Psychological Association
American School Board Journal
American School Health Association
American Social Hygiene Association
American Society of International Law
American Sociological Society
American Speech and Hearing Association
American Textbook Publisher's Institute
American Unitarian Association, Adult Education and Social Relations Department
American Veterans of World War II
American Viewpoint, Inc.
American War Dads
American War Mothers
Americanization School Association
Americans for Democratic Action, District of Columbia
Americans for Democratic Action, New York
Americans for Democratic Action, Student Division
Anacostia High School, District of Columbia
Anne Arundel County (Maryland) Council of Homemakers Clubs
Antioch College
Arkansas Education Association
Armstrong High School, District of Columbia
Army and Navy Union, U. S. A.
Asheville, North Carolina, City of
Associated Country Women of the World, Country Women's Council U. S. A.
Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau Federation, Inc.
Association of American Railroads
Association of American Ukrainians
Association for Childhood Education International
Association for Education in World Government
Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers

Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA
Atomic Energy Commission
Attorney General's Office, Pennsylvania
Automobile Manufacturers' Association
Baltimore, Maryland, City of
Baltimore, Maryland, Department of Education
Baltimore, Maryland, Public Schools
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs
Belleville (New Jersey), City of
Beltsville (Maryland), City of
B and P Order of Elks
Benjamin Franklin School of Baltimore, Maryland
Big Brothers of the District of Columbia
Big Brothers of America, Inc.
B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council
B'nai B'rith Youth Organization
Boys' Club of America
Boys' Club of Washington, District of Columbia
Boys Nation
Boy Scouts of America
Boy Scouts, District of Columbia
Boys Town
Breathitt County (Kentucky) Schools
Brethren Service Commission, Inc.
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen
Building America
Burns Flat (Oklahoma) 4-H Club
California, University of
Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
Canadian Citizenship Council
Cardoza High School, District of Columbia
Catholic University of America
Catholic University of America, Commission on American Citizenship
Central Northwest Citizens Association
Charmian Club, Unitarian All Souls' Church
Chicago Board of Education
Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, Inc.
Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency
Chattanooga (Tennessee) Education Association
Chrysler Corporation
Citizenship League of Pittsylvania County, Virginia
Civic Education Service
Civic Unity Council of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Civil Service Commission
Civitan Club of Washington, District of Columbia
Civitan International
Clark University
Cleveland Teachers Association
Colonial Dames of America, National Society
Columbia Broadcasting System
Columbia Scholastic Press Association
Columbia University
Columbia University, Institute of Adult Education
Columbia University, Citizenship Education Project

Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church
Committee on International Relations, NEA
Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, Inc.
Common Council for American Unity
Conference of State Societies
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Congress of Racial Equality, Washington Chapter
Connecticut, State of
Connecticut State Bar Association
Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, Inc.
Cooperative League of the U. S. A.
Cornell University
Council of Social Agencies
Council of Veterans Auxiliaries
Country Gentlemen
Country Gentlewomen League
Credit Union National Association
Crime Prevention Association of Philadelphia
Croatian Catholic Union of the United States of America
Croatian Fraternal Union of America
Cumberland (Maryland), City of
Curriculum Films, Inc.
Curtis Publishing Company
Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington Chapter
Daughters of Isabella, National Circle
Daughters of the United States Army
Delaware, State of
Delaware Board of Education
Delaware Department of Public Instruction
Delta Kappa Gamma Society, Arkansas
Delta Kappa Gamma Society, Delaware
Democratic National Committee
Democratic National Committee, Women's Division
Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Economics
Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Extension Service
Department of Agriculture, Office of Personnel
Department of Classroom Teachers, NEA
Department of Defense, Armed Forces Information and Education Division
Department of Higher Education, NEA
Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs
Department of Justice
Department of Labor, Employment Service
Department of Labor, Women's Bureau
Department of Rural Education, NEA
Department of State
Detroit (Michigan) Board of Education
Disabled American Veterans, Inc.
District of Columbia Bar Association
District of Columbia Congress of Parents and Teachers
District of Columbia Public Schools

District of Columbia Public Libraries
District of Columbia Women's Bar Association
Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church
Dover (Delaware) Public Schools
Drexel Institute of Technology
Duke University
Dunbar High School, District of Columbia
Eastern High School, District of Columbia
Educational Press Association of America
Educational Projections, Inc.
Encyclopaedia Americana
Estonian Boy Scouts
Estonian Education Society Inc.
Fall River (Massachusetts) Teachers of Adults
Federal Bar Association, Committee on American Citizenship
Federal Security Agency
Federation of Civic Associations
First Church of Christ, Scientist
First Hungarian Reformed Church
Fleet Reserve Association
Ford Foundation
Freedom House
Friends of the Public Schools of America
Future Homemakers and New Homemakers of America, Federal Security Agency
Future Farmers of America, Federal Security Agency
Future Teachers of America, NEA
General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women
General Alumni Association of Lincoln University
General Commission on Chaplains
General Federation of Women's Clubs
General Services Administration
George Washington University
German Consulate General
Gillespie (Pennsylvania) Junior High School
Girl Scouts of the United States of America
Girl Scouts of Arlington, Virginia
Girl Scouts of the District of Columbia, Inc.
Girl Scouts of Montgomery County, Maryland
Girls' Friendly Society of the USA
Goldsboro (North Carolina), City of
Gold Star Sons and Daughters
Gold Star Wives of America
Goodwill Industries of America, Inc.
Governmental Research Association
Guam, Territory of
Guam Department of Education
Hamtramck (Michigan) Public Schools
Hawaii Department of Public Instruction
Hawaii, Territory of
Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society
Helios Foundation
Henrico County (Virginia) Schools
High Point (North Carolina), City of

Home Missions Department of the A. M. E. Zion Church
Hot Springs (Arkansas) Education Association
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Howard Medical School (Massachusetts)
Howard University
Illinois, State of
Illinois Department of Public Instruction
Illinois State Bar Association
Illinois, University of
Immaculate Conception Academy
Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice
Independent Order of Odd Fellows
Indiana, State of
Indiana State Teachers Association
Indiana State Teachers College (Pennsylvania)
Indiana State Bar Association
Institute of Inter-American Affairs
Institute on World Organizations
Instructive Visiting Nurses' Society
Inter-Federation Council
International Association of Machinists
International Association of Public Employment Services
International Bar Association
International Committee for Human Rights
International Federation of Catholic Alumnae
International Federation of Women Lawyers
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, American Federation of Labor
International Society of Christian Endeavor
Iowa, State of
Iowa Farm Bureau Federation
Iowa State Education Association
Iowa, University of
Italian American World War Veterans of the U. S., Inc.
Jacksonville (Alabama) State College Citizenship Forum
Japanese-American Citizens League
Jewish Agricultural Society, Inc.
Jewish Social Service Agency
Jewish War Veterans
Jewish War Veterans Auxiliary
Jewish War Veterans of the District of Columbia
Johns Hopkins University
Journal of the National Education Association
Junior Bar Conference
Kansas, State of
Kansas Council for Children and Youth
Kansas State Teachers Association
Kansas State Teachers College
Katherine T. Murphy School (Connecticut)
Kentucky Department of Public Instruction
Kentucky, University of
Lackey (Maryland) High School
Lansing (Michigan) School System
League for Industrial Democracy, Inc.
League of United Latin American Citizens

League of Women Voters of the District of Columbia
League of Women Voters of the United States
Lebanon League of Progress
Library Service Division, Office of Education
Lincoln (Nebraska) Public Schools
Lithuanian Alliance of America
Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance of America
Long Island University
Louisiana Educational System
Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod
McCall's Magazine
McKinley High School, District of Columbia
McNeese State College (Louisiana)
The Machinist
Madison College (Virginia)
Maine, State of
Maine Department of Education
Manchester (New Hampshire) Teachers Guild
Marion County (Indiana) Classroom Teachers Association
Marshall College
Marshall (Texas) Junior High School
Maryland Board of Education of Prince George's County
Maryland Congress of Parents and Teachers
Maryland Department of Public Instruction
Maryland 4-H Clubs
Maryland National Housing Administration
Maryland State Bar Association, American Citizenship Committee
Maryland State Department of Education
Maryland, University of
Massachusetts, State of
Massachusetts Association of Teachers of Adults
Massachusetts Department of Education
Massachusetts Department of Education, Adult Civic Education
Massachusetts Public School System of Springfield
Massachusetts State Teachers College
Massachusetts Teachers Federation
Mayor's Civic Unity Council
Mennonite Central Committee
Miami Beach Committee of One Hundred
Michigan, State of
Michigan Education Association
Michigan, University of
Minneapolis (Minnesota), City of
Minneapolis (Minnesota) Public School System
Minneapolis (Minnesota) Council of Americanization
Miner Teachers College
Minnesota Education Association
Minnesota State Department of Education
Minnesota, University of
Mississippi State College
Montana, State of
Montgomery County (Maryland) Commission for Youth
Moose, Loyal Order of
Moose, Women of the
Morgan State College
Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.
Motion Picture Theatre Owners, District of Columbia

Municipal Court of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Music Educators National Conference, NEA
Mutual Broadcasting System, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Inc.
National Association of County Officials
National Association of the Deaf, Inc.
National Association of Deans of Women, NEA
National Association of Girl Scout Executives
National Association of Housing Officials
National Association of Manufacturers
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters
National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education
National Association of Student Councils
National Association of Women Lawyers
National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc., Women's Convention Auxiliary
National Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church
National Broadcasting Company, Inc.
National Capital Housing Authority
National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission
National Catholic Education Association
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
National Catholic Welfare Conference, Resettlement Division
National Catholic Welfare Conference, Youth Department
National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools
National Civil Liberties Clearing House
National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, NEA
National Commission on Safety Education, NEA
National Committee on Alcohol Hygiene, Inc., The
National Committee on Boys and Girls Clubs
Nationality Committee of Baltimore
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc., District of Columbia
National Conference of Juvenile Agencies
National Conference on State Recreation
National Council of Catholic Men
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Chief State School Officers
National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
National Council for a Permanent Employment Practice Commission
National Council on School House Construction
National Council for the Social Studies, NEA
National Council of Women of the United States
National Council for Youth, Inc.
National Education Association
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National 4-H Clubs
National Gold Star Mothers, Inc.
National Grange
National Humane Education Society
National Industries for the Blind
National Institute of Municipal Law Officers
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Jewish Welfare Board, District of Columbia
National Kindergarten Association
National League of Nursing Education
National League to Promote School Attendance
National Lutheran Council
National Order of Women Legislators
National Panhellenic Conference
National Probation and Parole Association
National Recreation Association
National Rifle Association of America
National School Boards Association
National Self Government Committee
National Small Business Men's Association
National Society for Constitutional Security
National Student Association
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union
Naval Order of the United States of America
Navy Department, Department of Defense
Nebraska, State of
Nebraska Citizenship Education Project
Nebraska Cooperative School Study Council
Nebraska, University of
New Hampshire, School Department of Manchester
New Hampshire State Board of Education
New Jersey Citizens Conference, Inc.
New Jersey Congress of Parents and Teachers
New Jersey Elementary Classroom Teachers Association
New Jersey State Bar Association
New Jersey State Teachers College at Montclair
New Mexico, State of
New Mexico State Department of Education
Newsweek Magazine
New School for Social Research
New York, State of

New York Board of Education, Division of Community Education
New York Board of Education, School Civic Clubs
New York County Lawyers Association, Committee on American Citizenship
New York Daily News
New York Secondary School District
New York State Bar Association
New York State Citizens Council
New York State Department of Education, Bureau of Adult Education
New York State 4-H Clubs
New York State Teachers Association
New York Times Youth Forum
New York University, Citizenship Clearing House
New York University, School of Education
Norfolk (Virginia), City of
North Carolina, State of
North Carolina Department of Puplic Instruction
North Carolina Federation of Home Demonstration Clubs
North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs
North Carolina Recreation Commission
North Carolina, University of
North Carolina Women's College
Northern Illinois State Teachers College
Oberlin College
Ocean View School, Norfolk (Virginia)
Office of Education, Federal Security Agency
Ohio, State of
Ohio Department of Education
Ohio Farm Bureau Federation
Optimist International
Order of AHEPA, Washington Chapter
Order Sons of Italy in America
Osborne Association, Inc.
Oswego State Teachers College
Paducah (Kentucky), City of
Pathfinders of America, Inc.
Patriotic Women of America, Inc., National Society
Pennsylvania, State of
Pennsylvania Bar Association
Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction
Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs
Pennsylvania School District of Radnor Township
Pennsylvania State Education Association
Pennsylvania State College
Pennsylvania, University of
Philadelphia, City of
Philadelphia Bar Association, Committee on American Citizenship
Philadelphia Board of Education
Philadelphia Teachers Association
Pioneer Youth of America, Inc.
Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.
Polish American Congress, Inc.
Polish National Alliance of of the United States of North America
Polish Social Service Bureau, Inc.
Public Administration Clearing House
Puerto Rico, Territory of
Queens College

Quota Club International, Inc.
Rabbinical Council of America
Randolph Macon College
Raymond School, District of Columbia
Reader's Digest Magazine
Regular Veterans Association of the United States
Republican National Committee
Retired Officers Association, Inc.
Rhode Island Department of Education
Roosevelt High Sc., District of Columbia
Rural Youth of the United States of America
St. Mary's P. E. Church, Women's Auxiliary
Salvation Army
Save the Children Federation, Inc.
Science Research Associates
Seaman's Church Institute of New York
Selective Service System
Self-Reliance Association of American Ukrainians
Serb National Federation
Service Star Legion, National Society, Inc.
Sidwell Friends School, District of Columbia
Slovenian Mutual Benefit Association
Society of American Military Engineers
Society of Lees of Virginia
Society of Sponsors of the United States Navy
South Carolina, State of
Stanford (Connecticut) Public Schools
State Commission Against Discrimination (New York)
State Teachers College, Institute, West Virginia
State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland
Station WMAL
Supreme Council 33°, Scottish Rite
Synagogue Council of America
Syracuse University, School of Citizenship and Public Affairs
Takoma Park Presbyterian Young People's Group
Teachers College, Columbia University
Temple University
Tennessee, State of
Tennessee Bar Association
Tennessee Department of Education
Tennessee Farm Bureau Federation
Tennessee, University of
Texas, State of
Texas, University of
Theater Owners of America
Third Division Society
Tufts College
Ukrainian Congress Committee
Ukrainian National Association
Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Inc.
Ukrainian Orthodox Catholic Church
Ukrainian Workingmen's Association
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
Unitarian Youth of All Soul's Church
United Community Services
United Democratic Club of Maryland, Eastern Shore Division
United Democratic Women's Clubs of Maryland

United Mine Workers
United National League of Lawyers, United States Division
United Polish Press of America
United Seamen's Service, Inc.
United Service for New Americans
United States Army Band
United States Circuit Court of Appeals
United States Court of Claims
United States Junior Chamber of Commerce
United World Federalists, Inc.
Upholsterers' International Union
Upper Marlboro (Maryland) Board of Education
Utah, State of
Vasa Order of America
Vermont, State of
Vermont Bar Association
Veterans Administration
Veterans of Foreign Wars
Veterans of Foreign Wars, American Sovereignty Campaign
Veterans of Foreign Wars, Ladies Auxiliary
Veterans of Foreign Wars, District of Columbia Department
Veterans of Foreign Wars, Delaware
Virginia, State of
Virginia Congress of Parents and Teachers
Virginia State Bar Association
Virginia State Department of Education
Voice of America, Department of State
Volta Speech Association for the Deaf, Inc.
Walled Lake (Michigan) Public Schools
Washington Hebrew Congregation
Washington and Lee High School (Virginia)
Washington Post
Wayne County (North Carolina) Board of Education
West Virginia, State of
West Virginia State College
Western High School, District of Columbia
Wilmington (Delaware), City of
Wilmington (Delaware) Public Schools
Wilmington (North Carolina), City of
Wilmington (North Carolina) Presbyterian Church
Wilson Teachers College
Winfield (Kansas) Public Schools
Wisconsin Bar Association
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Woodrow Wilson High School, District of Columbia
World Republic
Young Adult Council of Baltimore
Young America Magazines
Young Catholic Messenger
Young Men's Christian Association of the United States of America, National Council
Young Men's Christian Association, Youth and Government Program
Young Women's Christian Association, District of Columbia
Young Women's Christian Association of the United States, National Board
Youth Argosy
Youth House

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY THROUGH EDUCATION

JOHN W. DAVIS, *chairman*, president, West Virginia State College
MOZELLE CAUSEY, *vice chairman*, teacher, Greensboro, North Carolina
JENNIE L. DAVIS, teacher, Cincinnati, Ohio
A. C. FLORA, chairman, NEA Board of Trustees
JOHN GUY FOWLKES, dean, School of Education, University of Wisconsin
WILLARD E. GIVENS, executive secretary, NEA
HAROLD CURTIS HAND, professor of education, University of Illinois
WINONA MONTGOMERY, teacher, Phoenix, Arizona
CORMA MOWREY, president, NEA
VIRGIL M. ROGERS, superintendent of schools, Battle Creek, Michigan
RICHARD B. KENNAN, executive secretary
CYRUS C. PERRY, legal counsel
VIRGINIA KINNAIRD, associate secretary
LUCILE ELLISON, assistant secretary
ROBERT A. SKAIFE, field secretary

AMONG THOSE WHO HELPED

JESSIE E. ADAMS
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